

12 August 1977

SUBVERSION

Uruguayan Armed Forces Summary of Subversive Movement in Latin America

Part III

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PART 3

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SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

PART III

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ACTION

568. This chapter describes the subversive group's action from the standpoint of its internal functioning, as observed in the reports and analyses that it makes periodically.

The criminal acts themselves which it committed during the period under study are the subject of the following chapter.

Thus, the reader has available to him a variety of "official" documents of the subversive organization dealing with various aspects of that action: first, some "distortions" that the leadership perceives; then the theoretical "phases" that have been anticipated, or actually completed, mainly through the "evaluations" that it makes or the "adjustments" that it has been initiating on the basis of the results accrued; and, finally, the critical views, or "self-criticism," expressed regarding certain isolated action, which help to more graphically depict its performance.

1. Functioning

569. This aspect is discussed in "Document 2," which analyzes certain flaws in the action, focusing mainly on a criticism of two points: on the one hand, what is termed "militarism," that is, an over-emphasis on technical and military matters to the neglect of "political" goals; and, on the other, what is called "leftism" (it might also be termed "guerrillaism" or "actionism"), in other words, an exaggerated super-dimension attached to action at any cost and for any reason (42).

570. Following is the text of the aforementioned document:

"When the action of the organization was analyzed, we believed that we observed some distortions.

"These distortions (essentially two) cropped up constantly, besmirching the life of the movement, and marking its phases. We are not immune to succumbing to them in view of the features of our membership; hence the importance of becoming aware of them and of the danger that they represent to the movement, a danger that could prove fatal. It should also be noted that these distortions appeared both among the rank and file and in the leadership entities.

"a. We would describe one as 'militarism.' It consists of giving precedence to certain technical and military matters over everything else in an exaggerated fashion, completely forgetting the essentially political nature of our struggle and our organization. It is an excessive desire to preserve the apparatus, as if it were an end in itself; an almost unwholesome fondness for material goods obtained in such a way that we are put in their service, and not the reverse. This has led us to forget that it is sometimes necessary to take a risk; that, at times, in order to preserve, we may lose everything; and that, on certain political occasions, even when we risk losing what has been gained, we guarantee a multiplication of gains in the future.

"b. The other, which is more important than the previous one, because it has become more widespread among the ranks, we would term 'leftism.' It consists of the belief that everything is based upon glorious, spectacular action, upon reacting in an awesome way to political or other incidents that occur abroad. There is a childishness, impatience and idealism, whereby action of all types and at any time is proposed, sometimes losing sight of the internal reality and, on other occasions, of the external reality. It is the guerrilla posture which conceitedly downgrades everything else, everything that is not firing shots or performing great action. It is the tendency to believe that we have a monopoly on daring. This distortion loses the perspective on our struggle, which will be long and hard, and which will be filled with failures and defeats. Hence, it creates conditions for the spread of demoralization and disillusionment. Garbed in the trappings of steadfastness and toughness, it is what may lead us into more vacillation and softness. It must be instilled in all of us that a long, hard struggle awaits us, that we shall perhaps often have to retreat during it, and that there can be no short-term solution at the moment.

"571. Prudence has been one of our greatest virtues. Five years may seem too long as a period for training, preparation and reinforcement. However, there have been some unfortunate experiences (which we must not overlook) resulting from lack of prudence, impatience and "hasty decisions."

"How many organizations like ours have fallen victim to a mistake in calculation and have never been restored?

"We have differed from them in this respect, and that has been a major factor in the victory represented by existing, enduring.

"Experience has shown that things are not so simple as they seemed to be after 1959, and that it does not suffice to fervently desire the revolution, or to have enormous confidence and great courage. The struggle will require great intelligence, great technical elucidation and great circumspection, especially in our environment, where we cannot count on the facilities afforded by friendly surroundings, but must fight in the midst of the enemy, wherever it has concentrated its best and largest forces.

"572. To summarize:

"We believe that both distortions have been caused by a lack of perspective, of an overall view.

"We must learn, for once and for all, that action does not consist merely of doing things that will make the headlines.

"As we grow, the gamut of possibilities for action on various fronts and in many different ways will also increase; and not only for direct action. The latter must be gradual and simultaneous with other types of action that are sometimes more subtle, but almost always important and essential: growth, propaganda of various types, labor unions, internal reinforcement, services, technical preparation, backup infrastructure and influence.

"The conditions under which our struggle is taking place exert pressure on us from outside, but our internal situation has an equally forceful effect on us.

"We must not confuse desires with realities. The comrades are aware of the current shortcomings and the main problems to be solved.

"In our opinion, those are fleeting, temporary, incidental difficulties.

"Today, we can say: 'We do not have them all with us yet;' however, we have made considerable progress. That progress will afford us further progress, and so on. In other words, 5 years ago, we began a gradual process of advancement which we must continue; but we know that this advancement is not calm, constant or easy. It was, is and will be filled with leaps, partial setbacks, and quick, sudden progress; and it may even stop and lag.

"The line which, at close range, seems abrupt, zigzag and irregular, is a line in an upward direction when viewed in perspective.

"So, we cannot always expect a calm, constant upward trend in the development of the movement and its action. We must analyze things dialectically.

"Our mistakes and the enemy's action can make us recede or remain partially or totally at a standstill. The situation in the world, in America or in our country (which is a current situation marked by crisis), could, at any time, provide us with the conditions for making a great leap, and great progress.

"We believe that we are capable of fully understanding what we have said, which is only what we have undergone personally: It is our own experience."

2. Phases

573. From a theoretical standpoint, based upon a study of the organization's development and objectives, the course of subversive action may be narrowed down to the following three major phases:

A first phase, one of germination, infiltration and expansion, with the creation of an infrastructure and the grooming of cadres, which culminates when it acquires sufficient operational capacity and which, concretely, ranges in time from when it was first formed in 1962 until the end of 1967, when it was ready to undertake action of a certain degree of significance.

A second phase, one of the practical execution of a multiplicity of criminal acts, sabotage and terrorism, reflected in holdups, thefts, kidnappings, murders, armed propaganda, publicity and other efforts aimed at "convincing" the masses of its success and winning them over to its cause. Generally speaking, this phase dates from 1968 until 31 December 1973; and, although it admits of various alternatives (including the military defeat which the Combined Forces inflicted on the subversive organization, resoundingly, during the second and third quarters of 1972), in reality, it is theoretically still in permanent force because the organization, subject to what it calls a "technical offensive," is substantially required to "do something" constantly, inasmuch as otherwise it would decline and disappear. With regard to this phase as well as the preceding one, the systematized phases in Chapter VI should be borne in mind.

A third phase (still in the theoretical realm), marked by total insurrection, wherein the government, the public authorities and the state organs lose control of the internal order; the population no longer has confidence in the prevailing institutions and, fearful, corrupted, exhausted and demoralized, supports the subversion; and the subversive organization victoriously comes to power.

Of course, that phase did not occur; but it still retains a theoretical validity based upon the revolutionary concepts and plans of the subversive group.

574. Following is an examination of the phases of the subversive action, not from a theoretical standpoint, but on the basis of the actual facts, relating both to incidents which have been anticipated or planned, and those which actually have occurred.

In this connection, making the previous reservation that this is merely an explanatory method, with the overall features of the development, made from a dialectical and dynamic standpoint, and that the struggle need not necessarily occur in this way, a document from the organization expresses itself as follows:

"a. The principal task is to develop the armed apparatus, to create the backup infrastructure, to train and test its combat organization, and to develop its fundamental services. It involves action relating to provisions, practice, propaganda (aimed at winning support from the population, especially from its most aggressive members), accompaniment, support and radicalization of the class struggle (with the same objectives and for the creation of subjective conditions). When there is prosecution of incidents which violate the bourgeois laws, an awareness is created, the apparatus is organized, and the conditions are consolidated and developed which will make it possible to create the political movement which must surround the armed apparatus and which is a semi-legal branch.

"b. The accomplishment of the foregoing phase means that the repression has become widespread and the apparatus proceeds toward a direct confrontation with the oligarchy's entities for repression, intensifying its slogans; and, in the defense of the people's interest, and with their support, the armed apparatus will engage in a strategic defense, but with a constant tactical offense. It will wage a war of attrition.

"c. The third phase represents an inversion in the correlation of forces, and a movement from the strategic offensive to the final attack on the government."

3. Evaluations, Periodic Adjustments and Isolated Assessments

575. As has been noted, these documents may be divided into two groups: those containing the general, "overall" evaluations, usually relating to an entire year, which is the usual way in which the MLN-T makes its combined criticism; and those of a more restricted or "partial" nature, confined to an assessment of certain isolated incidents.

They are listed below on the basis of this specific classification:

a. Overall

576. Seven documents belong in this category: the evaluations for the years 1968, 1969, 1970 and 1971, with their adjustments; a "study of the cell;" Internal Circular No 1, of 24 November 1971; and the general evaluation for 1972, wherein the leaders of the movement discuss the blows dealt it by the Combined Forces that year.

1. Overall evaluation of 1968

577. Made in January 1969 and released for circulation through "Document No 4," this evaluation deals with the following items:

a. Analysis of the most recent attacks sustained

1. Possibility of infiltration

2. Neglect of security measures and/or underestimation of the enemy
3. Shortcomings relating to compartmentalization and discretion
4. The recent decentralization and its results
5. Signs of demoralization
- b. Decentralization
- c. Internal politicization
- d. New combat mentality
- e. Division of labor: political work, military work, work on services
- f. Creation of the combat teams

578. Its text reads as follows:

"a. Critical Analysis of the Recent Attacks Sustained:

"In the first part of this report, we analyzed what we consider to be the essential causes of them. We shall now discuss the immediate, or what we might term tactical causes, through which the strategic cause, assuming various features, is reflected.

"a. 1. Possibility of infiltration: We must never reject this possibility for reasons of method and principles. It must always be borne in mind, so that we shall be constantly on guard. Nor can we reject it in view of the organization's growth. What we can, indeed, reject, with complete assurance, is the notion that these recent attacks (from October to the present) have been prompted by the activity of someone who has infiltrated. The facts, analyzed in the light of that hypothesis, and the analysis, have proven that this is impossible. There is no one who has infiltrated on a level that would enable him to cause those attacks by himself. What could have been a factor (and we must take some steps in this respect) in all instances is an unconscious relationship resulting from a lack of discretion and flaws with respect to compartmentalization. Those shortcomings were noted recently, and were even the cause of an internal circular letter. They could have made it possible for information useful for the organization of repressive measures to reach 'receptive ears' located within (even though on a very remote level) or outside of the organization.

"a. 2. Neglect of security measures and/or underestimation of the enemy

"This factor, or cause, has, indeed, affected this entire process. In most instances, it was noted, to the extent that we feel that most of the attacks resulted more from our own mistakes than from the effort for repression,

whether it is because we have created a favorable environment in which the enemy may operate, or whether it is because, when the enemy did a poor job, giving itself away, we disregarded the signals indicating this.

"The most unfortunate part of it is that this shortcoming has reappeared periodically within the organization. That is to say, we make note of it whenever we have sustained an attack, and therefore correct ourselves; and then we let down our guard again, and are attacked again.

"At this point, a thorough assessment is in order, to explain something that should be a law governing clandestine work in the urban struggle: When a rural guerrilla group advances or encamps, it is covered by a series of security measures that insure timely notification of any enemy or stranger approaching. This works perfectly in an area that is quite familiar and friendly, and also contains a population which is supportive; and where, in addition, the enemy is a stranger and hence is noticed when it arrives. In the city, this is impossible. We cannot have lookouts, vanguards, rearguards or flanks watching over the progress of the main nucleus. We are moving in the midst of the enemy, in an area wherein it may find accomplices and wherein it is not a stranger. The work of the enemy and our own work is essentially that of intelligence. Just as we can readily attack them, they can attack us with equal ease.

"Since the work that is performed in the rural guerrillas by a lookout or sentry who reports sufficiently ahead of time that danger is approaching, making it possible to take the necessary precautions, cannot be done in the city, we must replace it with an attitude of constant vigilance and immediate attention to any warning signal.

"The enemy in the city does not make an obtrusive appearance (except when it completes its action). It conducts an investigation which must necessarily be secretive so as not to ruin everything. Hence, the enemy makes its presence felt or gives itself away, in most instances, through small indications, 'unusual things' perceived through the intuition that the militant has. In such instances, it is far better to err subjectively and adopt an unnecessary security measure than to miss out on the only prior notification that there might be of the immediate and nearly always irremediable action of the enemy. Insofar as security is concerned, it is the only area in which the minority counts as much as the majority.

"A comrade who claims that he has seen something and requests security measures should be heeded and given consideration, taking all of the foregoing into account. Of course, we must not succumb to the mistake of turning security into an objective in itself, paralyzing the movement's action in which there is nearly always a margin of risk from which there is no protection and which must be run. The most obvious example of the latter is military action itself, which one enters with a series of security measures that have been adopted (all that are possible), but with a very large margin of risk which one agrees to run so that the action may be carried out.

"a. 3. Shortcomings relating to compartmentalization and discretion:

"There are some comrades who seem to think that compartmentalization relates solely to the identity of others and the location of certain premises, and who operate on the basis of this idea, carelessly handling another group of data and information that should, in some instances, be well administered and, in others, should be completely secret. Since there are but few of us in Uruguay, and we know one another, it sometimes requires only slight clues to find out about important things. In brief, we have noted some shortcomings in compliance with the rule about "learning only what is necessary for action," and also a failure to adhere to organizational channels, especially when 'horizontal' contacts are made owing to fortuitous circumstances or for operational reasons.

"a. 4. The recent decentralization and its results:

"This factor has been in evidence particularly in connection with the lack of experience of certain comrades who have had to assume new responsibilities. Since the decentralization, many comrades have been serving an apprenticeship in a great many areas relating to militancy, which entails, or could entail heavy blows. Furthermore, because of the decentralization, the growth and the compartmentalization, some of the internal controls have been eased, and it is sometimes difficult to pool opinions about points that could turn out to be critical (for example, the recruitment that is being conducted at present by relatively new comrades).

"a. 5. Finally, since the recent incidents some signs of demoralization have been noted in certain areas of the MLN. The superficial criticism of events is one of those signs. This is typical of an organization which has been 'winning' for some time, and in which there has been no preparation (in certain areas) for sustaining attacks. An intensive effort against the idealization of the organization, together with other measures, should lay the groundwork for withstanding attacks that are certain to occur in the future and may be more serious than those at present. It is extremely important to realize that these difficult circumstances are the very ones which help us to really understand ourselves. We must open the doors of the organization, so that all those who feel weak with respect to the new times may refuse to keep hasty commitments made in prosperous times. (Reread Document 2 from the Second National Convention.)

"579. b. Decentralization:

"This principle will govern the immediate organizational work. Some experience has already been gained, because it has been implemented since April 1968. Some emphasis is in order at present: The goal that we are seeking with the decentralization measures is to prevent the organization from depending upon a head that may easily be spotted and attacked by the enemy.

"The decentralization that is being sought now is based upon the principle of strategic centralism accompanied by tactical autonomy set forth in Article 19 of our bylaws. Since we are making a new experiment, we must proceed carefully, so that we may all learn to operate in accordance with the new

situation. We have already observed how some of the direct causes of the attacks that have been sustained stem from this very measure. The decentralization is essentially administrative, and can by no means be political; because, otherwise, we would be creating several organizations. In order to understand this clearly, we must not overlook the fact that the goal we are seeking in the decentralization is purely technical, and associated with internal security, aimed at guaranteeing the survival of the MLN, and facilitating its action and operations. The organizational base for accruing the results is the column, defined as a military-political organizational unit which combines within itself (all) the potential for autonomy (services, action groups, agitators, infrastructure, periphery, etc.). The maximum objective of the column is to be able to exercise autonomy by creating the conditions that will make it possible. The slogan of each column must be: to train itself to be in a position to maintain the struggle on behalf of the MLN, even if the rest of the organization has been destroyed, and to have the internal facilities with which to reconstruct what has been destroyed. As our growth dictates (when the administration becomes hampered, when there is an excess of productive forces, etc.), we must create new columns as the only means of gearing ourselves to the new times and of organizationally guaranteeing the perpetuation of the struggle, whatever happens to any part of the MLN.

"This decentralization also forces us to be cautious about preserving the work style. It also forces us to work quickly from the standpoint of conveying to the largest possible number of comrades the experience that the MLN has gained during several years of work.

"The most experienced comrades must play the preponderant role in this endeavor.

"At this stage of events, a form of work that has been practiced throughout the entire history of the organization has assumed the nature of an inviolable principle: namely, collective leadership, the associated organs of leadership. This form of work must be applied on all levels of the MLN's leadership. The struggle will be long and hard. Many leaders will die in it. We must have replacement cadres and organizational conditions that will enable us to mitigate the effects of these contingencies. The struggle will be waged against powerful enemies. The MLN will require the capacities of several leadership teams in order to confront them successfully.

"580. c. Internal politicization:

"The urban struggle has its own laws. One of them is the necessary politicization of the cadres that are conducting it. During the course of it, there will, inevitably, be breaks on some occasions in the close association that ordinarily exists between the leadership and the rank and file, whether in relation to the entire column, or in relation to the cell. The only guarantee that the autonomy will not only be exercised, but will be exercised well, is the degree of politicization among the combatants, whatever the task they

are performing may be. In an organization wherein the rank and file groups can achieve a large operational capacity over a period of time, and wherein, owing to the very circumstances in the area where the struggle is in progress, there may be problems with regard to contacts over a long period of time, the militant groups must have a minimal political standing that will enable them to continue striking out at the enemy even when they are isolated, without making any major mistakes.

"In short, it will enable them to make decisions that may be critical on behalf of the entire organization, with the same sense of responsibility and correctness with which they would be made by the movement's main leadership. As we have already said, one of the goals pursued in organizing according to columns is that there will be, within each one of them, a potential for autonomy and reproduction. One of these qualities, perhaps the basic one, is the necessary political maturity that will make it possible to assume the entire responsibility of the MLN without serious problems.

"The politicization must take place essentially through the comrades' participation in the discussion and explication of all the issues that may be taken up without detriment to discipline, internal compartmentalization and security.

"In other words, creating an awareness of the MLN's major problems and resolving them, participating in the discussion of them, as well as decentralization and the exercise of autonomy are the things that will lend the militant maturity and prepare him for things that will be increasingly serious.

"All this may seem like heresy for a politico-military organization such as ours. As a matter of fact, the examples with which we are most familiar, namely those relating to the rural guerrillas, have not been associated with the practice of this type of internal political activity. We say, either they have not required it, or they have been unable to engage in it. A rural guerrilla movement does not have to act with the forcefulness required of us, because the members live together in large groups compared with the cells of the urban struggle. They live together with their leaders, the mutual control is practiced directly and the apprenticeship is mutual as well.

"The Algerian urban organization for the battle of Algiers (in 1957) was centralized: a pyramid that could be destroyed. It could not be helped, because of the type of people that comprised it: the people themselves, on a low level not only politically, but also intellectually. A great deal of centralized control was required; it was difficult to practice autonomy. Somewhat the same holds true for the rural guerrilla movement, which recruits peasants with a low political standing who must be trained during an interval when they live together with the combatants. Our country affords more opportunities. We have inherited from the regime that is collapsing skilled productive forces that will be vital to the development of the struggle. This peculiar phenomenon has already occurred to a large extent in the internal experience. Even the intellectual standing of our people (who will, sooner or later, begin to join

the MLN as cadres) is substantially different from the average standing of those in most Latin American countries, making autonomy possible, in addition to being necessary.

"The politicization, added to austerity or proletarianization in the life style of the combatants, will be the chief barrier with which we can counter the distortions germane to the urban environment.

"581. d. New combat mentality:

"The new phase of the struggle will demand and create a new mentality among the combatants. We might more appropriately say that it will demand and create the combat mentality. This will happen in the case of every combatant, on a general level, and with respect to the manner and style in which the MLN's military actions will be planned and executed in the immediate future. We shall have to be geared to it, and ready for the change in the current mentality which is the result of one type of work and action. In other words, a new phase in the struggle will require a new mentality. We must be quick to change. We must demand more 'toughness,' discipline and commitment from each and every one of the militants.

"582. e. Division of labor

"As we shall observe, this point is very closely related to the need for associated leadership entities on all levels.

"As the organization has grown, its numbers have increased and, therefore, the tasks have been divided out of necessity; because they have been acquiring more breadth and complexity. Tasks which, at the outset, could and should have been undertaken by just one comrade or entity, even though they might have been different, cannot be undertaken in that way now. Their very scope requires specialization and the total dedication of both comrades and entities. This is not only necessary, but also possible, because, with the growth, the comrades have also acquired greater ability and are in sufficient numbers.

"The current size of the MLN requires a breakdown, on every level, into three major tasks or aspects of work: political work, military work and work on services.

"We repeat, this breakdown was neither necessary nor possible in the past; because the situation was different. Now it must begin to occur, first through the leadership entities, with the responsibilities divided according to specialty, so that it may be immediately but gradually transferred to the entire organization.

"This division of labor must occur essentially on the column level. In order to eliminate the danger of distortion that we have so often observed in other

organizations, each column will be required to perform all three tasks. In other words, there will not be a political, a military or a services column. Rather, each leadership entity within which these three major areas are subdivided must represent the sum thereof; because, as we shall see, the three tasks supplement one another and are interdependent. In short, the organization is the balanced result of the progress made in the three areas, which are intimately related and influenced by one another.

"What role will be played by each of the responsibilities assigned to the column, which is where they will be reflected in their entirety?

"Military responsibility:

"It will be concerned with all matters relating to military action, the action itself, the combat equipment, training, technical improvement, bases of operations, cadre schools, storage and administration of combat equipment, etc.

"Technical responsibility:

"It will involve performing services and distributing tasks to the entire column, as well as administering the specialized equipment, premises and resources. It will include supplying the technical resources for both the military and political work.

"Political responsibility:

"It will entail administering all the equipment not of a military or technical nature, as well as taking charge of the minimal training, recruitment, and work with the labor unions and on the masses front, administering the periphery, engaging in military action geared to the level of the comrades who are under its jurisdiction, etc.

"Each one of these areas must set up its own apparatus. They will be compartmentalized from one another, thereby increasing the overall compartmentalization.

"There may not be a complete understanding at present of the urgent need for this subdivision. In order to understand it, we must think of the future. In the not too distant future perhaps, when the military action acquires a dimension of its own different (greater) than at present, we shall have to have comrades and entities devoted totally to the task; and the same thing will hold true for the other areas. Then, the three phases must not hamper or interfere with one another (something that could happen if we failed to divide them properly), but rather must supplement one another.

"583. f. Creation of the combat teams

"Experience has proven the usefulness of teams that are especially assigned to action. When rapid reactions are necessary, and when a high degree of

specialization is required for complicated tasks, it is essential to have specialized teams which also have the necessary facilities with which to take prompt, effective action.

"This will be the main task involved in the military responsibility in each column: to select, train and create the conditions that will make it possible to have such teams within a short period of time. They will comprise the base of the future MLN; they will always be under orders; they will be capable of swift mobilization; and they will be fully involved in military activity, which is defined as not only action, but the administration of each column's military resources, the training of the other comrades for action, etc.

"This does not mean that, from now on, there will be comrades in the MLN who engage in military action and other comrades who do not. It means that there will be levels of action, and a certain kind of specialization will be required for each level.

"The military action must be 'staggered,' so that all the comrades, whether or not they belong to the military apparatus, take part in it, or can do so.

"But now the MLN needs organizational facilities of a military type that are sufficiently swift to strike and intervene wherever necessary, without wasting time. That mechanism will be comprised of the combat teams, which will thereby become a genuine strategic reserve, the basis for the future ELN [National Liberation Army]."

1969 Evaluation

584. This document was confiscated in the police operation conducted in the house located at No 973 Yaro Street, on 13 March 1970; and it contains an examination of the following points:

Military matters, political matters, repression, organizational matters, shortage of cadres and shortcomings in the training of militants, security and the interior.

It concludes by pointing out that the priority task to be undertaken in the future must be the consolidation of the movement.

In dealing with the political aspect, the evaluation cited the importance of propaganda which (it says) was not sufficiently provided for during 1969, as well as the feasibility of using radio broadcasts and exploiting rumors.

The propaganda area is not only important but vital to the MLN-T, to the extent that many of its actions are thought out and calculated on the basis of the public, internal and/or external repercussions that they may have. This is a feature common to all contemporary terrorist organizations, as has been emphasized previously, and it is particularly marked in the Uruguayan subversive group.

In various sections of this book there are references to the MLN-T's desire for publicity and propaganda, an attitude that it has not abandoned, even after defeat and when it has been in exile.

As an explanation for the reader, it must be borne in mind that this activity is reflected mainly in documents of various kinds, which are later put in the form of pamphlets, books and communiques (addressed to the authorities and to the public, usually numbered and issued by the executive committee rather than by the commands or columns, explaining certain incidents and the reasons for them); "Correo Tupamaro" [Tupamaro Post] (propaganda leaflets, usually distributed in university schools, high schools, educational centers as a whole and to the public, in the form of "flyers," which are unnumbered but dated, containing ideological statements and explanations for various actions, aimed particularly at countering the popular repudiation, as well as a review of them, as "parts of war"); bulletins (publications of an informational type similar to "Correo Tupamaro," sometimes even containing both titles); letters (sent to the authorities and disseminated publicly through "flyers" and sent individually through the mail, accusing them of torture and making threats); manifestos, internal communiques, etc. In the index of topics and under those headings, the reader will find the citations on the MLN-T's abundant propaganda material.

585. The text of this evaluation reads as follows:

"We underscore the correctness of the plans devised in September 1968.

"The correction in the line set forth in the document dated January 1969 (Document 4), and its current effect.

"We call for a complete understanding of the new phase cited in that document. We define it as a strategic phase as substantial as that experienced by the MLN from the time of its origin until the date when that document was prepared.

"It is a phase that will be long and agitated, and subject to many sub-phases.

"We make this statement, because some comrades do not realize this. Many of them were expecting a 'rendezvous with power' in 1969, or a 'rendezvous with glory' last year.

"To play the cards of the masses, and to be a focal point of the dimensions that have been proposed, is not a 'moco de pavo' (43) [trifling matter]. It is almost the revolution, the Vietnam that Guevara asked us to achieve. So, this phase will be more difficult than the previous one, because it has greater goals.

"Up until January 1969, we fought to create the organization; now, the battle is for the people.

"We would also like to point out that an exact pattern cannot be established, nor the line where one phase began and another ended.

"It might have been when 'Pacheco' was the boss in June 1969, or when we abducted 'Ulises' (44), or when Rodriguez Moroy (45) said, in January 1969, that we had a cell in every neighborhood and that it would take 2 or 3 years to liquidate us; or, better still, when we told 'Rojo Vivo' (46) that we were indestructible. In short, it is difficult and it might prove to be a puzzle to attempt it.

"What we do know, from all these things, is that we have left behind one phase and have started another of equal strategic significance.

"And today, in January 1970, it befits us to recall the circumstances under which the MLN, its leadership and its members prepared this document: at the end of 1968, when the current columns were plans; when, after the collapse of the group of 10, we were 'in a group;' when we were beginning to feel the results of having defied the regime; when many who had joined in times of success and prosperity were vacillating; when many found it difficult to understand a position favoring struggle, advancement and offensive after the attacks that had been sustained; when claiming that 'we shall proceed to the offensive,' and begin a new phase, rank the risk of making us seem ridiculous.

"For all those reasons, our evaluation is basically optimistic.

"586. For 1969, we have hastily recorded:

"77 actions of moderate significance, of more or less importance to the public, which, added to the 'minor' actions (expropriation of vehicles, every broadcast that our radio made, etc.) , exceed the 100 times that any MLN group went into action.

"In the current circumstances in Latin America, we appear to be the guerrillas with the greatest military force and the greatest repercussions.

"We have not lost the offensive, and that has created a mentality related to the offensive.

"We have learned to assimilate the attacks and, if not, to remember how we withstood the downfall of Marquetalia (47), or of the group of 10; and to compare this with the times when we were dealt similar blows in 1969, which did not prevent the MLN from making a comeback a few hours or days later.

"The population has learned also. When the time for ugly violence and for acting without impunity came, the population understood many things that are necessary even though they hurt or are distasteful.

"We have been successful in surmounting that difficult period.

"We also realize that, day by day, even when it fails, the action lends prestige to the MLN and downgrades the regime and its apparatus from the great perspective of time.

"In conclusion, we deem it necessary to point out that, in our opinion, the shortage of cadres and the shortcomings in the training of militants have been the principal problem in 1969; one which has given rise to many others and which, therefore, should be confronted with greater emphasis in 1970, because of that significance and the seriousness that it may assume.

"587. Military matters

"In 1969, the organization had three consecutive directives that may be termed plans: when April was set as a deadline for certain internal accomplishments; when an attempt was made to conduct a weekly action; and when, after the meeting of 14 August, the plan of action was devised the focal point of which was the kidnappings.

"However, there were difficulties in implementing these plans and in preparing others.

"Those difficulties were and are, chiefly:

"A. The typically Uruguayan manner in which the oligarchical dictatorship is being exercised, by maintaining and trying to maintain the legal trappings which disguise it through all possible means.

"B. The 60 years of peace and political calm that our country experienced from 1904 to date, with Batllism as an adjunct or preeminent factor.

"The mental reflection and the social psychology that it produced; a superstructural phenomenon which has made us what we are, just as it has also brought about the peculiar nature of the repression (in comparison with the rest of Latin America).

"C. The difficulties which this entails: We have to 'stagger' our violence, construct our Moncada (see Document 4), make a choice between the gamut of potential military targets, choose our actions carefully and, almost always, execute them with great technical deployment.

"This atmosphere and this experience have likewise produced a certain mentality, and act as obstacles to our attaining an appropriate combat mentality.

"D. The workers and students movements which are both beyond our control (as yet), and which have their own requirements, pace and forms of struggle, sometimes interfere with our plans, bring us new, peremptory objectives and change our situation.

"This is part of the indefinite situation that was cited previously, and it is added to the endeavor of all the reformists who introduce the notion of false solutions, cause confusion and even have some leeway for maneuvering.

"E. The attacks made upon us by the forces of repression, which often make it necessary to change the plans, partially or totally.

"Because of these circumstances, we do not consider it realistic to expect or devise meticulous plans for military action, but rather "tendencies related to military action," which call for a large degree of flexibility.

"In this connection, we think that great care must be taken to prevent our succumbing to the folly involved in changing our plans and losing our initiative through support to concrete associations that are struggling or because of the vicissitudes of the mass movement.

"In times of crisis such as the one we are experiencing, the constant defeat of the labor movement is a logical result of the process.

"It is brought about through the economic process.

"The victory or defeat of a labor movement does not depend essentially on the current circumstances, nor on whether the labor leadership is better or worse, nor on whether this group of rulers from the oligarchy is bad because of what it likes.

"The oligarchy would provide solutions if it could; but it cannot.

"It has to be bad, and to repress and defeat the labor movement.

"Uruguay ended up being Batllist in nature and, therefore, any conflict henceforth will find the regime and its forces of repression in a confrontation with it.

"This makes it both necessary and possible for the worker to be offered political measures and to be made to understand the recent causes of the attacks that are being sustained.

"Therefore, it could be dangerous for us to embark upon support to the labor movement as a focal point of our military position, for two reasons:

"a. The defeats of the unions that are still backed by us could look like our defeats and, what is worse, the failure of our methods.

"b. In making the struggle revolve about the conflict, we are not politicizing, because we are paving the way for continuing to believe that it will be through labor union demands (and therefore, under the regime) that the worker is going to resolve his problems.

"We must not confuse vanguard with masses, and convert the MLN into an armed branch of some union or other.

"Then we would cease to be a vanguard, and become pathetic cabooses; and we would hardly be doing a favor to the working class.

"For example, the action in Pando indicates the path far more than would taking 1,000 punitive actions against sheep in some conflict.

"This is the best type of solidarity, and the kind which most politicizes.

"Therefore, the organization must devise and carry ahead its plans on the basis of an analysis of the total situation. If a conflict should arise in the midst of them, and it is possible, backing should be given, but not in exchange for a deterioration in our plans.

"Except, of course, when a conflict, because of its importance, changes the situation which was the basis for devising plans, and hence forces us to change them.

"The best device for meeting the needs related to support for the labor movement is to create the suitable paramilitary entities on its level.

"588. Political matters

"The year 1969 was one of a great decline in the mass movement, in comparison with 1968.

"It experienced only four major conflicts: in the meat industry, the UTE [General Administration of State Electric Power and Telephones], the press and the banks

"They all exemplify what we stated previously.

"The most glaring absence was that of the students, although their environment was the scene of a fruitful discussion about methods.

"This sharp decline must be explained on the basis of the crisis that the country has been experiencing and the repression that it has entailed, as a logical consequence.

"This repression has not been futile. It has brought the desired results. The answer to this situation is essentially political: the armed struggle. But a labor movement response must also be found, because the labor movement will continue to exist as such, and we must keep our hooks entrenched in it.

"In this connection, we deem it necessary to hold a more calm discussion, and with more individuals than we have in the past, so as to draw these conclusions.

"Our problem, in addition to the foregoing, is the "conducting thread," the 'spider's web,' the gradation between the MLN and the people.

"The labor and student commands were experiments which left much to be desired. However, we deem it necessary to have on a top level entities that will

centralize, coordinate, systematize and assist the CE [executive committee] in this task which has assumed dimensions and a complexity of its own.

"For 1970, we attach importance to the task of propaganda, which in our opinion was marked by shortcomings in 1969.

"As part of it, we consider radio to be the best thing; but, if that is not possible, the publication of newspapers, running the risk entailed in their distribution.

"To lessen the risk, we regard it as necessary to put an end to the flyers distributed on streets, and to take steps toward a distribution that is planned and controlled in closed premises.

"Owing to the new significance of this task, we deem it necessary to create centralizing and collaborative entities, and not to let the propaganda services be mere printing services, but also distributors and even writing services.

"To exploit rumor as a tool for propaganda and struggle against the campaign of silence and distortion.

"It may be given other connotations, if necessary.

"Changing toward an active position in national or international political relations. It is essentially in the international area that we are heeded; and there is a situation which leaves much to be desired (in comparison with what would be desirable or possible to expect).

"This has acquired a strategic seriousness, and we could do a great deal to improve the situation if we planned our collaboration and sought overall objectives.

"Therefore, and because of the fact that there is a Tupamaro 'boom,' which has multiplied the contacts, we recommend the creation of an entity specializing in this task, which could plan and have a notion about universality.

"There is more than enough potential capacity for achieving such a team, and we would be thereby attaining more efficiency and more security as well.

"Simultaneously, and as a supplement to the foregoing, it should place us in the historic perspective of the great international socialist trend.

"On the national level, we must reap what we have sowed, by establishing ourselves as a vanguard. This means converting ourselves into a center of attention. We must make proper use of this.

"589. Repression

"The year 1969 brought on the Metropolitan Guard and its 'Chanchita' (48) mechanism, an elite corps specializing in clashes with the contingents engaged

in the urban struggle. In the future, we must take into account its esprit de corps, weaponry, mobility and efficient communications system.

"The year 1969 also brought a proliferation of intelligence services and their refinement with respect to investigations, vigilance, etc.

"We propose:

"1. An active counterintelligence effort (see 'Security')

"2. A more assiduous, and even special political and propagandistic effort aimed at the forces of repression.

"3. Not underestimating ourselves from a tactical standpoint.

"With respect to tactics, we must take into account the contradictions therein and the political effort that is under way.

"590. Organizational matters

"1. Shortage of cadres and shortcomings in the training of militants:

"At the beginning, we cited this as the major defect in 1969 and the chief one to be corrected this year.

"And, we repeat, this mistake gave rise to, or tinged with its effects nearly all the other areas of an internal nature.

"We propose:

"The creation of cadre schools, not as a panacea, but as one of the best methods for solving the problem.

"The scope of the problem, the experience that has been gained and the prospects for the future have made this institution, of a definitive nature and on the level of every column, a necessity.

"We must have a specialized, central entity which will coordinate them, systematize the experience, indicate objectives and lend cohesion. The effort of these entities must be aimed first of all at the intermediate cadres, the category in which the current shortage is most often the most damaging; and, thereafter, at the membership as a whole.

"The necessary facilities must be made available to them: a staff of full-time instructors, teaching materials, appropriate premises, vehicles, etc.

"Their objectives:

"Total, political, military and technical training.

"Standardizing and providing homogeneity to the members as a whole.

"A compulsory systematization of experience, through the preparation and constant adaptation of the instruction programs.

"Checking and screening of mistakes, possible distortions, etc., which have not come to the attention of the leadership through the usual channels.

"Dialog between instructors and students; hence, analyses of different experiences, innovation, discoveries and a potential rationalization of the members through improved utilization of the available capacities.

"With regard to a program, we think that emphasis should be placed upon what we have already reported in the self-criticism of Pando (49), regarding military training, which must be given special consideration.

"We need a military training that will enable us to act effectively in confrontations with the enemy.

"We think that the courses should tend to develop the team's maneuvering capacity, a good understanding of the tactical features of each weapon (including the explosives) as well as training in the issuance of clearcut orders, and in understanding and effectively obeying them.

"The history of the MLN

"Its documents

"Its internal operation

"Centralism and democracy (we have found flaws in the implementation of these principles) (See Inf. Col. 5 and interior)

"Discipline: rights and obligations

"Operation of the cells

"Security

"Alibis, statements to the police and attitude toward the police

"In addition to what is regularly taught concerning the technique of handling groups, an area in which we know there are comrades who could make a good contribution, with handbooks at their disposal (the army's Artigas Library, etc.)

"591. 2. Security

"Although the problem cited previously has been the cause of many of the mistakes and flaws in security, it should also be noted that, during 1969, there

was a slackening in this area. One need only analyze the current number of comrades who are in jail, and the circumstances under which they were apprehended, to conclude that, although many are part of the logical price that a revolutionary organization has to pay for its struggle, there are also many in this predicament because of correctable mistakes and who would have no reason to be part of that price.

"There are definitely too many in jail, and nearly all of them were apprehended in 1969.

"Reinforcing the internal security could save us from many failures.

"Therefore, and owing to the vital significance that we attach to the problem, we propose the creation of a new service: the security service, which would operate in each column and be centralized by some other entity.

"We recall that an experiment of this kind was conducted in one column.

"592. Functions: There would be two essential ones: training and vigilance, of which the former would be the more important.

"Training: Organizing campaigns, discussing the attacks, analyzing them, studying special materials (there is a great deal); preparing materials, systematizing the different experiences; combining methods of liaison, of movement in the streets, of using vehicles, of disguise, of shelter, of 'hideouts,' of codes, of storing compromising material, of alarms and vigilance in cantonments, etc.

"Observing and studying the new methods of repression, so as to think up counter measures; establishing rules and regulations to be applied.

"Vigilance: Organizing searches, 'raids,' sham battles, etc.

"The counterintelligence could be organized (a struggle against infiltration, anti-MLN activities, etc.), but, since it is a higher-level activity and very sensitive, we shall only mention it, in the belief that it will be experience that will indicate the path to us.

"In this connection, the new service may be the seed of something that will become necessary sooner or later.

"It should be closely linked with the present information service, so as to constantly receive the material that it requires. In other respects, it should make use of the existing structures insofar as its operations are concerned.

"We propose the establishment of a 'Conspiratorial Minute' and 'Security Day' (at least monthly).

"Attitude toward the police: This has left much to be desired; there is no 'mystique of silence' deeply ingrained in the comrades on an extensive level.

"It is also necessary to learn to make statements and to have alibis; at least for the present.

"Recruitment: There should be mechanisms that will make it possible to continue our growth with the proper security and selectivity. Growth has been and is still a necessity; but only the comrade or group with minimal training may be recruited. Prior to that, recruitment must be forbidden.

"Compartmentalization: A great tool of the MLN; its best weapon against the enemy's intelligence. It declined somewhat during 1969.

"We propose compartmentalization 'to the death' in 1970. The action groups, valuable cadres, specialized groups or cadres, leadership entities and recruitment entities must be super-compartmentalized.

"Specialization: A logical, anticipated response to the size of the movement, the increasing complexity of the work and its new scope; there have been regrettable omissions. We call for adherence to, and the systematic implementation of the division into sectors and levels (exercising vigilance regarding the distortions that could occur and have occurred).

"Underscoring the identical value of the three sectors, as well as of tasks that have been frequently underestimated (for example, that involving cover).

"Taking care of cadres, materials and valuable entities, especially the leadership.

"Severity: in dealing with mistakes, shortcomings, treachery, lack of discipline, etc.

"There has been a certain laxity in these areas which we regard as extremely detrimental.

"We call for severity and resolution in the punishment of informers and traitors (for example, those who are involved in the recently exposed split), and of comrades who have told 'more than their share.' We call for particular severity in punishing security violations, even on the minimal levels (for example, tardiness).

"The possession of compromising documents unnecessarily should be regarded as an objective type of informing, in view of the volumes that are involved; and it should therefore be penalized.

"While the shortage of cadres is still a problem, the leadership must exercise the most stringent and direct control possible, overseeing at close hand the progress of the various sectors of the MLN.

"593. 4. In the interior: Without any intention of depriving the existing document that establishes strategic and tactical guidelines that are absolutely valid at present of its significance, we propose a greater use of the interior

at the present time, particularly for functions relating to infrastructure. For example, for services, shelters, backup for members, holding prisoners, etc.

"In view of the foregoing, we think that operations such as that at Salto hamper this possibility at present, as well as the strategic prospects cited in the aforementioned document.

"We do not wish to prohibit the action in the interior, for there has been some which has been correct; but, from a tactical standpoint, we should bear in mind the function of infrastructure which could be the greatest and best contribution from the interior for the current phase.

"In conclusion: We have divided this report into chapters only for reasons of order. No one should be unaware of the fact that all these matters are closely linked and interrelated, and that they cannot be separated as they are here.

"We have not mentioned certain topics because of the lack of time and information. It should be borne in mind that all the comrades participated in compiling this material, and that is difficult under the conditions in which we are operating.

"We promise to continue working on some of them (for example, on the 'mass front') and to pass on the findings.

"The number of organizational changes, and even the creation of new entities, may come as a surprise.

"Despite our belief that simplicity, efficacy and practicality should always be sought in the area of internal structure, we think that the quantitative growth necessitates those changes now, just as it prompted the creation of columns, for example, at a certain time.

"The organization must be dynamic and continue to make adjustments. The structures are not ends in themselves; and they must be changed or adjusted without hesitation whenever they hamper instead of giving an impetus, especially if we are growing. It is understandable that there be a structure which cannot cope when it has to handle twice or more than twice the amount of work for which it was planned. With a great many proposals, we have also sought to ease the burden on the CE, and tend toward greater specialization.

"We think that these internal adjustments and also some of the internal tasks to which we have attached importance could represent a great deal of work. In our judgment, they must be carried forward whatever the cost may be, embarking upon a period of internal consolidation as a priority task.

"We are at your service to explain any point, and take this opportunity to greet and congratulate all the comrades, assuring them of our confidence and faith."

3. Overall evaluation and plans for 1970 and 1971

594. This document, prepared between November 1970 and January 1971, was confiscated by the Combined Forces in an operation conducted in the city of Paysandu on 16 October of the latter year.

The subversive organization made two major decisions during that period: to support the Broad Front [FA] in preparation for the elections to be held in November 1971 (so as not to lose the status of "vanguard of the mass action movement," and become merely a "caboose"); and to approve the plan for the year in question, which may be summarized briefly in these three lines of action: the people's jail, the "Gallo" (50) plan and the "Cacao" (51) plan.

The document concludes by stating: "The evaluation of the past 6 months is more than positive; however, it demonstrates a great deficiency in the economic sector, and the need for some adjustments."

The aforementioned backing for the FA which the MLN-T mentions repeatedly is not confined to mere support for the Marxist political conglomerate, but, in fact, transcends that by far; because the subversive organization has reinforced it by coercing other political groups with threats and attacks on the persons of their members, as well as on their premises. The months preceding the elections were to be marked by an endless series of acts of violence, attacks on clubs, the setting of bombs and fires, and disturbances which completely upset the traditional atmosphere of respect surrounding Uruguayan elections, evoking an understandable fear among the population. It was the people's steadfast determination to confront any circumstances and risks in order to prevent Marxism and subversion from seizing control of the government, and repeating the experience in Chile, which defeated the FA. The people did not vote in favor of the traditional parties and their candidates, as the latter conceitedly and erroneously insisted upon believing; they voted against the communism, subversion and terrorism entrenched in the Marxist groups which were combined in the FA, whose ominous action they had been subjected to for a long time.

Hence, the MLN-T's physical coercion leveled against political leaders and groups opposed to the FA has a clearcut tactical purpose within its war strategy: to eliminate all electoral competition which would prevent the FA (which the subversive movement has deeply infiltrated) from coming to power.

This has been proven by the document that has just been quoted, wherein the subversive group warns that they must not "work for politicians who would sell out their country and traitors," because "if our communique is not taken into account, we shall not hesitate to take steps against your political committee," as well as the long list of attacks that have occurred.

595. Following are the statements made by the subversive organization:

"At the end of last year and the beginning of this year, the organization made two fundamental decisions: support for the FA and the line in this respect; and the plan for 1971.

"Generally speaking, both decisions that were made between November 1970 and January 1971 relate to the following position:

"The FA, which at that time was a really extensive project, will soon become a reality, will have great importance on the national political scene and will unite a large contingent of the people.

"It is the result of the prevailing situation and of our own action; and it establishes the guidelines for the future. It would be extremely dangerous for us to dissociate ourselves from that contingent of the people, and even worse to oppose it. But it also behooves us to aid and consolidate it. This is a very brief analysis, from which these three major conclusions were drawn:

"1. As soon as possible (so as not to seem like upstarts), we must take a clear-cut, sincere position with respect to the FA.

"2. We must make every possible effort to construct within the FA a mechanism that will serve to give it an impetus, to unite the vanguard sectors and to make our connection with the process materialize.

"3. Despite the foregoing, we must maintain our autonomy, line and strategy, establishing them as clearly as possible, so as not to become weakened in the process and to be able to continue indicating the true path.

"The '71' plan, prepared subsequently and with a more complete content, made the following statement, expressed briefly:

"1. This will be one of the most difficult and complicated years for the organization. During the course of it, we shall have to take a chance on the electoral 'proceedings,' with the significance that they have in our country and with the added factor that the entire left wing and the popular sectors will be uniting around the FA, one of the most difficult pitfalls that a guerrilla movement must confront. The banner of 'pacification' will be waved demagogically by many people, and it could create problems for us.

"2. As a result, the greatest danger would be to remain cut off from the nation's reality, to 'remain outside of troya' (52) [excluded] as an organization and as a method.

"The objective will be not to lose the vanguard status, yet this does not mean clashing with the FA; that is, the FA could assume the vanguard position at our expense, and the electoral proceedings could become converted into the great hope and illusion of the people, at the expense of our methodology. Attempting to retain the vanguard status while navigating in a labyrinth will require skill; and it will be the only guarantee against the deception of the masses. We shall consider ourselves more than satisfied if we succeed in this.

"3. Therefore, the great guideline for our work must be extreme caution regarding the political repercussions of every step that we take, especially where military action is concerned.

Subversive Communique Threatening Those Who Do Political Work on Behalf of Groups Other Than the FA: .

"Attention to the appeal:

"We urge you not to work for politicians who sell out the country and those who betray the interests of the country and the working people. We recognize you as a worker, and therefore we warn you that, if you do not pay heed to our communique, we shall not hesitate to adopt measures against your political committee. We do not want to adopt measures without announcing them first, and we hope that you will acquire the conscience of a good citizen and real patriotic faith. What is it that the country needs at present? (A fatherland for everyone.) If this communique is not taken into account, within a few days you will have surprises from our command. There will be a fatherland for everyone or else there will be no fatherland for anyone.

"MLN-T."

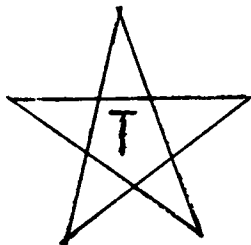
ALERTA AL LLAMADO

EXORTAMOS A USTED A NO TRABAJAR PARA POLÍTICOS VENDE PATRIA
Y TRAIDORES A LOS INTERESES DEL PAIS Y EL PUEBLO TRABAJADOR
RECONOCEMOS QUE USTED ES UN TRABAJADOR POR LO CUAL LE
ADVERTIMOS QUE DE NO TOMAR EN CUENTA NUESTRO COMUNICADO
NO VASILAREMOS EN TOMAR MEDIDAS CONTRA VUESTRO COMITE POLÍTICO
NO QUEREMOS TOMAR MEDIDAS SIN ANTES COMUNICARLES Y ESPERAMOS
QUE TOMEN CONCIENCIA DE BUEN CIUDADANO Y REAL FE PATRIOTICA
¿ QUE ES LO QUE NECESITA EL PAIS EN ESTOS MOMENTOS?

(PATRIA PARA TODOS)

DE NO TOMAR EN CUENTA ESTE COMUNICADO EN EL CORREO DE DIA
TENDRAN NOVEDADES DE NUESTRO COMANDO.

HADRA PATRIA PARA TODOS O NO HADRA PATRIA PARA NADIE



M.L.N.

"596. We are entering upon a highly politicized year, and hence we must politicize our action to the maximum degree. That will be the prerequisite for emerging as the winner.

"4. The concrete plan was:

"In the political area, everything relating to the FA as the focal point for our attention.

"In the military area, the replacement of line H, line H as a short-term strategy and that of Milonga (53) as a tactic. Adoption of the "D powers" (54) as a short-term strategy and of the JR (55) [revolutionary justice] as a principal tactic.

"5. With the desire to properly arrange the line of action for 1971, stress will be placed upon the importance of not engaging in action involving direct harassment or bloodshed unless the situation undergoes a turnabout in the opposite direction.

"The exceptions to this are harassment directed against the GM and the reprisals against informers, torturers, etc.; but provided the latter are 'expert' and both take place in an atmosphere of good understanding by the people, and can occur 'instantly,' at all times gaging the political repercussions.

"JR will be promoted as a principal tactic and, as part of it, the development and consolidation of the people's jail, also with a view toward future contingencies that would make a 'Satan' (56) plan viable. The latter was conceived after the 'battle' in August, within the context of a prior weakening of the government and is, therefore, a more long-term plan.

"Action such as the Pando (57), propaganda, armed propaganda, supplies, etc., is still valid.

"6. When this assessment had been made of the action, there were two concrete plans which became the focal point for the organization's attention: the 'Gallo' (58) and the 'Cacao' (59).

"To summarize: The people's jail, 'Gallo' and 'Cacao' would be the three military 'centers.'

"7. Obviously, the possibility and feasibility of adopting a line aimed at impeding the electoral proceedings were discarded.

"597. Evaluation

"What has happened to the country and what has happened to us during the past 6 months?

2909

"The country:

"1. After a timid but insidious attempt at 'pacification' made at the end of the year (legalization of parties and newspapers, some releases from barracks), the country entered upon another period of Jackson 'toughness' intervening⁶⁰ with 40 days' suspension of personal guarantees, a further 90 days requested but not authorized, the shutdown of daily newspapers, searches at the university, bankruptcy and scandal at the Mercantile Bank, two ministerial crises, uprisings by the JUP ["Uruguayan Youth on the March"] with blatant governmental compliance, devaluation of the currency, inflation (500 pesos to the dollar), scandal at the Colon Secondary School, collapse of the secondary school intervention commission, attacks on the courts, a crisis in the secondary schools culminating in a popular victory, full occupation of the barracks again, etc., etc.

The government (Pacheco) was more isolated and weakened than ever. The FFAA [Armed Forces] would not support it in a mounting attack going beyond the last institutions to fall, and the police, except for the GM, despite a number of blows by us and its own unpopularity, proved 100 percent inefficient in restraining us and failed totally.

The judicial branch, after the Berro Oribe affair⁶¹, calmed down. The legislative branch came into conflict with the government, refusing the 90 day request, ousting Charlone⁶² and the intervention commission⁶³, leaving it with the difficult problem of the "measures" to deal with (an especially difficult problem because of us).

The traditional parties, a bare five months away from the most dramatic elections, still had not defined their electoral struggle front.

598. This isolation, these contradictions, were explained basically by three major factors:

1. The most important was the crisis which made the government's economic plan untenable, ripping everything at the seams and precipitating conflicting development at each step.

2. The popular advance, expressed by three events during these six months:

The ORGA [National Liberation Movement-Tupamaros slang term for itself] and its actions;

The great secondary school struggle;

The Broad Front and its great development.

In this connection the weight of the popular support for the FA [Broad Front] merits special mention among these three factors. In a few months, it had become a substantial alternative for the elections and the greatest mass movement--sponsored by the left--in history.

With every passing day this development became irreversable. The FA was the result, but at the same time the cause, of a new situation in the country.

The old two-party system had been destroyed forever, and through it the masses were erupting into conscious political life.

This brief portion of the evaluation in itself indicates that things had gone well for us.

Let us examine the other aspect.

599. The Organization

On the political level, the position with regard to the FA, which at the beginning may have seemed doubtful, had been fully confirmed in practice, and it was a wise move to make this public at the time this was done⁶⁴. Moreover, the FA itself had fulfilled all the predictions.

Our specific work with regard to the FA was a feat of accomplishment. In a few months, the Orga succeeded in mounting a complete structure which was dazzling in its power. It only remained to congratulate all those who participated in this undertaking⁶⁵.

We functioned during this year with the political advantage of other successes: the development of the CAT [Committee for Aid to the Tupamaros], publications, neighborhood work, the mobilization of the FLACA⁶⁶, penetration of the workers' class.

On this level, we had given the most categorical and definitive rebuttal to all the slander concerning our mass work.

2. On the military level: five "pigs" executed⁶⁷ in 5½ months, plus those who died of other causes or were transferred for political reasons showed the correct and careful implementation of the tactics of the JR where the consolidation of the popular prisons, one of the three "centers" of attention, was concerned.

Other forms of revolutionary justice, the "bumble bee" tactic, various forms of harassing the GM, armed propaganda, etc., etc. showed the proper attention of the JR to the strategy of the malleability of the authorities, above and beyond the errors committed in this or that action and the criticisms which the choice of timeliness for a given target might merit.

These were errors and criticisms which were not enough to offset our long and complex correct experience.

The greatest criticism we should make of ourselves has to do rather with what we failed to do.

In this connection the greatest shortcoming in these six months was the lag seen in our plan for the CACAO. This was a lag which can entirely be ascribed to our errors, for which reason it only remained to redouble our efforts in this military aspect where there were shortcomings and which we regarded as basic.

The rest of the military plan was being fully carried out.

It would only remain to note a shortcoming we could not ascribe to error: that in finances, but we well know the efforts which were made and are being made.

Finally, we made an unexpected event in the 71 plan: "Gato"⁶⁸ could apparently go into operation prior to the scheduled dates.

"Speaking modestly, the balance for this six month period was more than positive, showing only one major shortcoming and need for some adjustments."

600. In another part of the document, stress is placed on support of the FA, which "is already a vast movement. We are well structured along this line and there is every indication that if we do not commit any errors, we will continue to make this bond deeper, to the obvious benefit of the process and the ORGA." As a result, in the political sector, "continuing as we have until now, it would only be necessary to reiterate the need for a proper policy with regard to Seregni and the armed forces (which we must refrain from attacking in so far as is possible). A good slogan might be 'Surround Seregni', but this should be an internal slogan which will not alienate us in a move which might lead to frustration or disappointment." Although the organization contemplated the possible triumph of the FA, it feared it would be necessary to define itself (with regard to the MLN-T [National Liberation Movement-Tupamaros]), and "the FA politicians will

respond according to how punctiliously we have pursued our line. If it is unpalatable to the people, inspired solely by military patterns (executions) it will be difficult for them to disassociate themselves from us publicly... If we make things palatable it will be difficult for them to make themselves clear." In the military sector: "...Actions will have to be super-sympathetic. Desirable: peoples' prisons for particularly hated prisoners. Distribution of foodstuffs to small settlements. Radio announcements of purely propaganda actions. Armed propaganda. The "pandazos" should be taken off the list of viable actions for the time being, in view of the risk of bloodshed they involve. Unless there are targets which are "regalados"⁶⁹, etc..

4. Critical Study of "the cell"

601. This document, drafted by the members of the seditious organization in the Punta Carretas Prison, and seized on 16 October 1971 during a search, indicates, among other things:

The particular manner of viewing a general criticism, on a special subject but of vital importance to the organization.

The peculiarity of the language used.

The use of the facilities of the prison systems, entirely unsuited to these new forms of criminality, to pursue studies and planning for subversion with practical impunity from within the penal systems, with their inspectors.

602. "On the training of the Tupamaro combatants, who will from then on be able to deal with and properly resolve the problems occurring in the revolutionary camp. In this manner the cro [Tupamaro abbreviation for "comrade"] will be making his own the criteria for operations and security, coexistence and comradeship, revolutionary morality, the importance of the task fully carried out and the sweat and often the blood this entails, etc., etc. / / And in the successful steps of this training, they will discover and apply new criteria and experiences, revolutionary action playing a basic role in the integral training of the comrades. / / It is in their training, executions, with all it implies.

.) That the comrades in the intelligence department can supply the necessary data. .) That the comrades checking on the same will do so conscientiously to avoid blunders. .) That the comrades in the workshop have seen that the loaders do their job and have promptly arranged for the lacking firearms. .) That the "berretines" (hideouts) have worked well and we can have at hand, and safe against surprise, the firearms and papers we need. .) That the truck is properly painted and works like a weapon thanks to the revolutionary efficiency of the workshop personnel. .) That the technicians, despite last minute requests, will provide us with documents so that the "verso"⁷⁰ will be the more overwhelming. .) Finally, the health comrades, who have everything ready and waiting, the printing

and propaganda comrades, who supply us with the necessary fliers, those who supply disguises, etc., etc..

And finally those who will carry it out, those who will give of their best to settle any last minute difficulties and carry the action forward, as those who participated in the earlier step, without which the action could not have been made specific, gave all of themselves and had to settle an infinite number of difficulties. / / And finally, all of the comrades, but in particular those in the political sector, for propaganda, explanation of the goals, creating awareness, recruiting and organizing. All of this vast perspective of coordinating and complimenting forces, but the very experience of combat helps the comrade to understand the true dimensions of the struggle. .) We are all necessary because we are all the organization. / / That there are no more or less important tasks but only revolutionary tasks we must all consciously carry out to achieve the common goal, to wage the revolution. / / That specialization and team work are necessary. / / That there are not political workers on one side, military on another and service elsewhere, but comrades who act on political-military criteria in each one of the sectors, etc., etc.. / / Gradually, in this manner, the comrade while perceiving the true dimensions of the revolutionary deed will be delineating and supplementing his aptitudes for the later fulfillment of a given function, in which these political-military criteria may yield the maximum in theory and practice for the organization and therefore for the revolution.

603. Criticism and Self Criticism. By criticism we mean the evaluation and analysis of the activities of a comrade or a group of comrades, (and by self criticism, the similar evaluations the comrades make of their own errors). / / Analysis not designed to stress errors but on the contrary to find them, to discover why they developed and to extract lessons such that they will not be repeated. Thus criticism and self-criticism are basic tools for the organization. And they are used in order constantly to overcome the errors which develop within it. / /

Critical Attitude. It is necessary that we have a consistently critical attitude, that we continually analyze each step we take in order to train ourselves to make and receive criticisms naturally. Now then, it is of the greatest importance to learn to make and to receive criticism. 1. In order to make a criticism we must bear in mind the moment and the place in which we are doing so. In this way, criticism will serve some purpose, otherwise it will become prejudicial to the ORGA, creating confusion, doubts, etc.). A. To make criticisms calmly, objectively, free of emotional influence, "peakedness", etc.. B. Not to interfere in or hinder the realization of a specific task. For example: if in the development of an action, a comrade commits an error, the person in charge will simply correct it, but without making the corresponding criticism, which would threaten the development and the success of the action. After it is finished and with the necessary information and objectivity, he can pursue the criticism. / / 2. Place. There is an organic function of criticism within the ORGA. In fact, the comrade or comrades who offer criticism

should do so within the organization (group, cell, etc.) involved, whether it be a criticism directed at a comrade by his organization in particular, or various criticisms established by the ORGA in general. But always within the organization. Not to do this is to ignore the proper path along which criticism should be pursued. If for example I talk with a comrade in another organization, telling him that someone in mine committed these errors or has certain shortcomings, I am simply promoting rumor, objectively speaking slandering. And the numbers of factions take advantage of this. / / It is the duty of each and every one of us to prevent criticism from being distorted and make use in this manner. / / In addition, if a comrade who is not in our organization makes negative comments to us about a given comrade in his organization, we must: a. ask him to communicate all that he is telling us to his own organization; b. check that he really does this so that we can report to our chief. / / 3. We must be aware when we are criticized that the critic is a comrade who is seeking thereby to help us to overcome an error so that it will not be repeated, because in doing this we are only strengthening the ORGA and in the end the revolution. / / It suffices, finally, to note the importance of the strategic situation of the criticisms. When the ORGA is dealt blows, some comrades, who have generally been functioning in the ORGA a short time, waver and make criticisms of certain ORGA criteria. It is true that because of the characteristics of our arms, urban, clandestine struggle, we are in the midst of the enemy, which entails running inevitable and continuing risks of suffering losses of comrades and weapons and premises. But it is equally true that the same characteristics allow us to have within our reach targets which are vital to the enemy and also to develop this struggle within the heart of our people. / / The results are visible. In the final analysis, we accept this strategy as a whole or we do not accept it."

5. Internal Circular Number 1 Dated 24 Nov 71

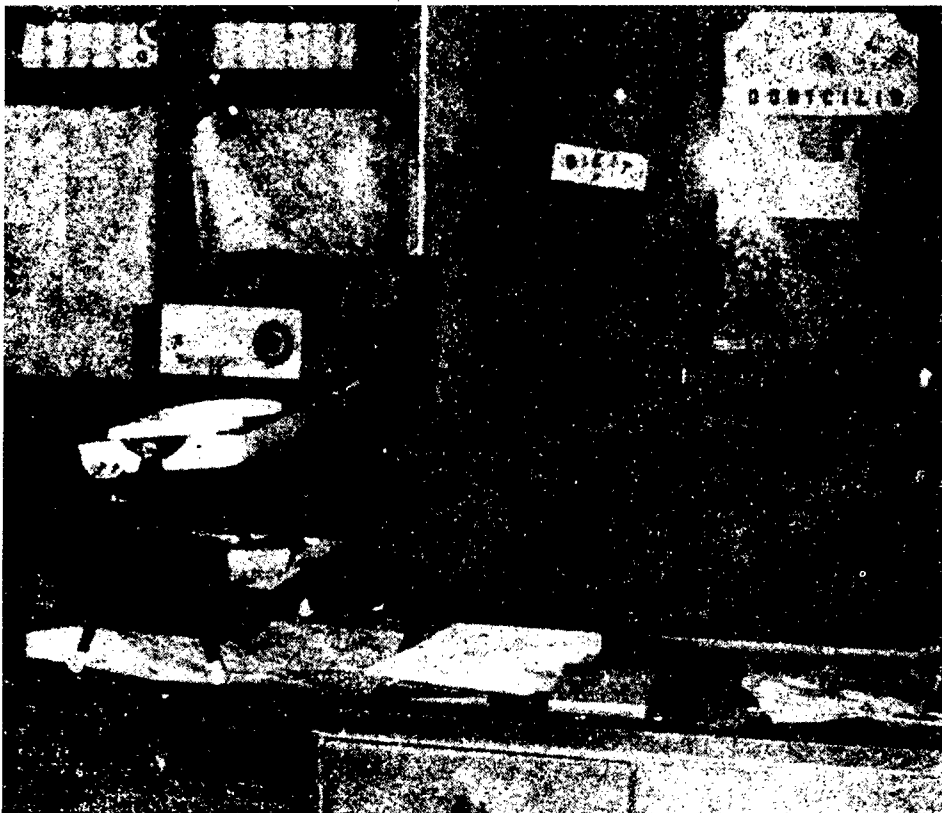
604. Drafted a few weeks prior to the 28 November 1971 elections, this circular predicts "very hard days", proposing that "discussion be launched in each organization" with regard to the enemy "who is developing and consolidating," in a clear reference to the direct intervention of the armed forces in the conduct of the anti-subversive struggle, a task entrusted to it in the early days of September in that same year.⁷¹

It also proposes the consideration on the same level of the "internal tasks" which "we must undertake in this stage, because there we are dealing not only with the plans of the organization but with its very future."

The tasks in question are those pertaining to contacts, security, care of weapons, training of cadres, services and administration, all aspects in which the circular notes shortcomings and unforgivable omissions, for, it says, "we are at war."

605. "Internal consolidation is not one task, but the sum of many tasks. It is not the development of one category, but the harmonious development

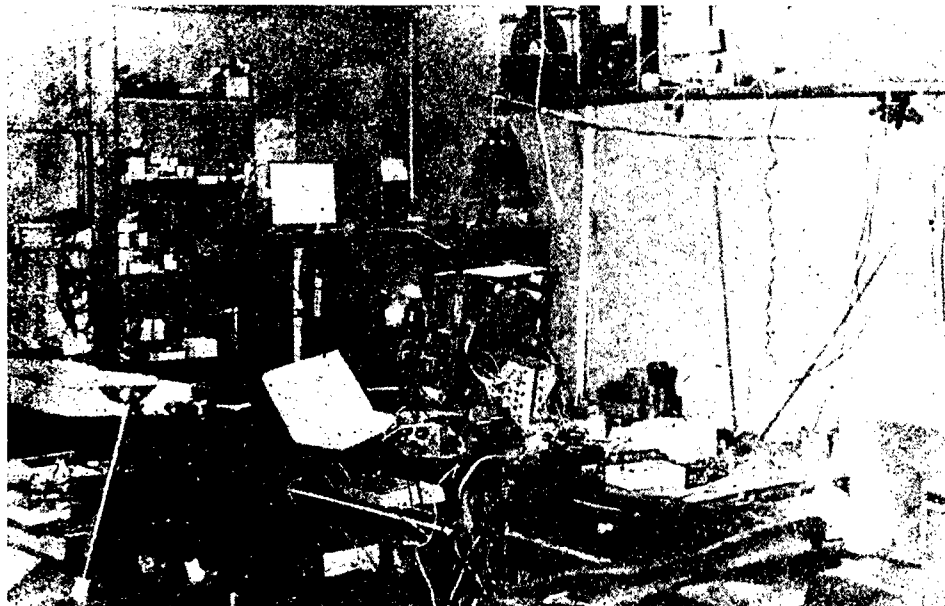
of all the catagories which make up the organization." "Today we note on the surface of the organization errors which conspire against its consolidation. Underlying each error there are profound causes...it is the entire organization which must take care to locate the origin of these errors, it is the entire organization which must contribute to this analysis which must lay bear the shortcomings and limitations to be overcome. The undertaking of this analysis by the implacable method of criticism and self-criticism in each organization is the first step toward internal consolidation."



MLN-T Radio communications technical workshop installed in the hideout at No 3817-19 San Martin Street.

606. The document under study then proceeds to examine the shortcomings referred to concretely, in the following terms: "Contact. In one month, hundreds of contacts have been missed. The time and energy lost with a contact missed, and lost in reestablishing it, are incalculable. In this sector there are errors of all kinds: liberalism in failing to appear, superficiality in arrangement. Often indecipherable contacts are communicated through the inter⁷². In other cases both parties report having met, but no meeting took place. It is necessary to be more serious, more responsible and less frivolous in the arrangement of a contact and in punctuality. A comrade waiting with the password on a corner for someone

who does not come offers a tremendous advantage to the repressive forces. On the other hand, missing a contact hinders functioning, administration, yield. In one corner of the organization, a technician is needed, and in another, one is offered. To succeed in making contact is an achievement. Today to think of all that is lost because of something so small is shameful. There is no self-criticism which justifies this waste.

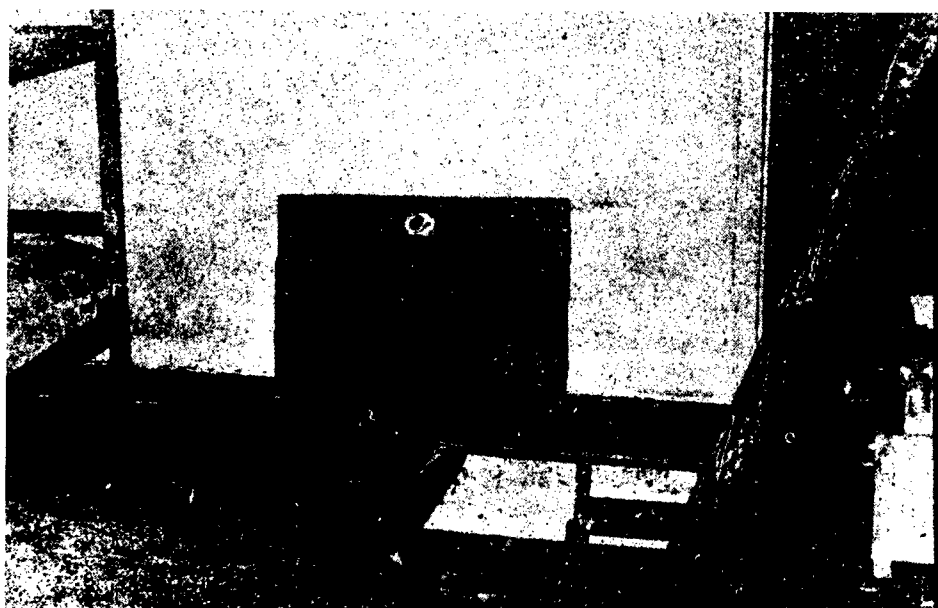


Interior of radio workshop at 3817 San Martin.

607. Security. A few days ago a comrade fell. Among the papers he was carrying the police found notes on a contact he was to make some days later. Either the note contained all the letters for the contact or the code was wrong. What is known is that the comrade went to the rendezvous and was arrested. Following that abase, other comrades and weapons were seized⁷³. A check on all the papers each individual is carrying is a norm which has ceased to be observed and to which it is necessary to return. The example of this event shows us the degree of looseness we had reached. To this we must add premises with no alarm, or poorly equipped or where the comrades do not look at the alarm before entering the premises, and the case of comrades who have been followed for days and did not perceive it, leading behind them the repressive forces and allowing them to find premises. In brief, all this continues to mean repeated casualties and losses of premises and weapons for us, and in the end, the loss of territory to the repressive forces without going into combat, with the resulting internal upset.

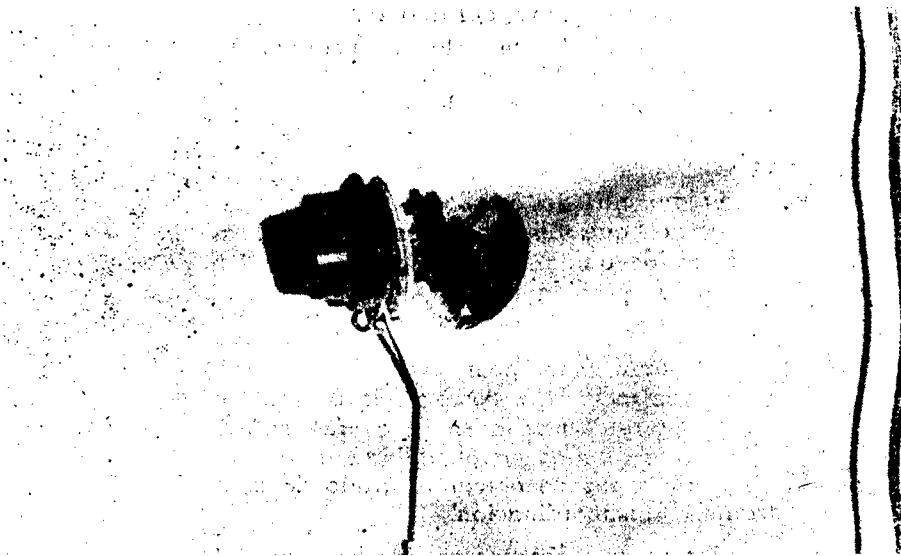
608. Care of Weapons. In more than one action, in more than one confrontation, the weapons used have not functioned. To a great extent, basically, this has nothing to do with the attitude of the combatant

toward the weapon. A militant who is aware that he is going to use a firearm has it ready. However, dirty weapons, jammed loading mechanisms, poorly protected ammunition are often found. Whole arsenals are buried in hideouts without anyone taking the trouble to check them, to see if they are protected against moisture. Weapons used in an action are buried without prior checking and conditioning. We are preparing for a cruel war, and we are losing weapons and ammunition for lack of care. We are preparing defense actions and we are losing weapons due to carelessness or because they were poorly buried. What we win in one action we waste due to lack of responsibility.



Trapdoor leading to radio workshop hideout.

609. Training of Cadres. The training of cadres, of the combatant, is the task of tasks today. Here the basic effort must be concentrated. We have not yet resolved the contradiction between the human potential offered by the people in hundreds of future combatants and the capacity of the organization to absorb them in order to train them. And this is due to the fact that we do not yet have the training school for cadres needed to provide instruction and training on the basis of solid, homogeneous and standardized criteria. The offering of courses on various levels, in particular for the future instructors, will allow us within a short time to resolve this contradiction in part. However, this task is advancing slowly. Secondary aspects often divert the attention of the command, which must concentrate today on a priority basis on the training of the militant. The establishment of a good cadre training school, a good driving pulley training school, will allow us to take up the tasks of this period seriously. There is no internal consolidation without training. And there is no training without plans.



Control for entrance to secret radio workshop, concealed in socket on trapdoor.

610. The Departments. There are basic departments which are not functioning or are functioning slowly. For example, the role played by intelligence in this war is basic. However, this is not reflected in the attention given to the intelligence services, many of which are not functioning for lack of infrastructure or because the attention devoted to them does not reflect the need we have for this service in particular.

611. Administration. On the one hand clothing is expropriated. On the other, it is purchased. On the one hand, tools are expropriated. On the other, they are bought. An action does not end with the object sought. Inventorying what is obtained, making it known to the command and the executive for distribution are supplementary tasks which guarantee the usefulness of the action. Otherwise we are wasting goods which cost us dear, and we will not be making maximum use of the effort."

6. Overall Criticism of the Year 1972.

612. In reality, this assessment, seized with other documents in the month of September 1972, does not cover the whole of the year, but does indeed refer to the most important period in the anti-seditional struggle, in which the organization, as far as its infrastructure and military capacity was concerned, was almost annihilated by the FFCC [Carabineers' Forces].

The declaration of a state of civil warfare on 15 April of this year was a decision which took the organization completely by surprise, and one to

which the leadership referred with bitterness, although minimizing its effect by calling it merely the "loss of a battle" and recognizing "not even being combatant".

Here the seditious organization had already directly pointed to the FFCC as its main opponent, as the "repressive apparatus of the enemy", the "oligarchy" and "imperialism" which it proposed to confront by exploiting the "dialectical contradiction between the officers and the troops", through "intelligent political work" capable of raising the level of the awareness of the troops and promoting insubordination.

To achieve this goal it urged adoption of the line of "systematic non-selective harassment," insuring that the war would "reach everyone", which would in the end lead to the strengthening of the organization, etc..

613. Until the declaration of the state of civil war, the inadequate juridical-legal system and other substantial shortcomings of various types which the parliament never saw fit to correct made it possible for the seditious movement to gain strength, accumulating growing power which in the final analysis allowed it to become the arbiter of national life, exercising a capacity for initiative which went beyond that of the public authority⁷⁴.

The immediate implementation of the new system dictated by the criminal insanity of the seditious group removed the anti-subversives procedures from the anachronistic system prevailing until then, which was completely unsuited to the circumstances to be dealt with. The activities of the FFCC, the searches and procedures, then began to be governed by military law, as is usual in such cases.

From that time, the activities of the FFCC became sweeping in nature. Their efficiency rapidly gained them mastery and the subversives completely lost all functional capacity. Hundreds and hundreds of members of the seditious organization were arrested. The evils in the public prison establishments were corrected and special penal facilities were established. The material destruction of the infrastructure established by the organization (bases, hospitals, workshops, laboratories, arsenals, premises for falsifying documents and preparing explosives, weapons and propaganda, hideouts, underground excavations, "tatuceras" [places of concealment] and "peoples' prisons") was carried out.

It was precisely at the culmination of this campaign by the Carabineers' Forces, when a certain time had already elapsed without any significant operation by the seditious organization, that the assessment published below was seized. In it, using the classic method of "self-criticism", the leadership of the movement undertook an analysis of the situation.

614. The following is the text of the document:

"We are outlining our opinions in this way in the awareness that this is not the best way of operating, but obviously the infra⁷⁵ problem prevents us from sitting down to talk calmly, and the system of street "enchufes"⁷⁶ is far from complete and well established.

Tactical Line

We are being dealt one of the harshest blows in our history, if not the most harsh, in that they have declared war on us,⁷⁷ taking advantage of a situation created by us⁷⁸. The war has "gained on" us and we have not known how or been able to respond properly. The results of this have cost us, in infrastructure and comrades, the greater part of the apparatus with which we were planning to pursue this war. In other words, in a military sense we have lost a battle. Politically, the succession of casualties, blows and victims is becoming because of their number a great political blow, to the extent that there is nothing on our side to offset it, and to this we must add a blow as harsh as that of the peoples' prison. However the war has not ended, far from it: it has only recently begun.

We now have months of "accommodation" to its reality. The surprise has now lost a large part of its value, for we already know what repressive blows are like. Now we have a new and major experience.

The combat stage is pending. The leap in quality is clear and our immediate future lies here. We think that in this period each and every one of us has suffered within himself a change which is not perhaps all that is necessary but that we are approaching. We have not yet achieved the status of combatants, which means more than knowing how to fight: it means knowing how to fight and being able to adjust to it.' It means developing initiative and creativity to the maximum, being "bicho"⁷⁹ and fully political. That we are not yet combatants is a fact. That the FFCC have not yet fought is also a fact. That the soldier in the FFCC has many advantages over any one of our men is true, but it is also true that he is a mercenary and we are militants and it is also true that the guerrilla force has its tactics. We have all learned much in these months. The steady pounding of reality has made us feel in our flesh many things we expected but had not learned, experience. We think that the combatant is created in combat, based on a firm militant. And we do not believe we are very mistaken when we say that the militants who remain today are in their majority firm, perhaps due to an internal purification. And learning of our errors from the real consequences resulting from them, these are the two good things of importance, internally.

615. At the point reached in the firmness of those of us who remain it is impossible to waver (certainly there will be more casualties, more desertions, more betrayal) and practice will be once again the criterion of truth. However what seems difficult to deny is that those of us who remain today are steadier than yesterday. The steadiness will increase to the extent that each of us has a clear view of the future, and every day which passes

accustoms us to the battle and strengthens our bonds with the struggle and the people.

We who see the FFCC as the repressive apparatus of the enemy, that is to say our main opponent in the war, cannot fail to see that they are responding to the directives of the oligarchy, immediately, and the imperialists, indirectly but basically.

Written down thus, it is very clear to us, but what we think is that if there is a progressive member of the armed forces, the advance of the struggle in favor of the people will help him to "find himself" and the loss of strength in the progressive ranks will frighten him. We think that it is necessary to continue talking, discussing, and at the negotiation table, and the stronger we are the better it will go. We believe that the real antagonistic contradiction which we can increase and which will reach its highest expression is the dialectical contradiction between the officers and the troops. If one day the officers command and the orders go unfulfilled because the troops will not heed them, we will have achieved a very high expression of this contradiction and then the heart of the FFCC will begin to tremble, and then it will be other troops who will obey, but then the war will have changed nature, and will no longer be a war "between Uruguay". Thus we are planning how to act in order to bring about rebellion among the troops.

One way is by increasing the level of their awareness. This will require intelligent political work. The other, which the preceding does not exclude, is for the troops to refuse to obey because they feel that obeying does them harm. The troops, the majority of which were trained by people seeking resolution of their economic problems, will want to abandon the war when they see that the war solves nothing for them but costs them much.

This is, in our view, the contradiction which we must develop. This does not mean that we should act as stupidly, blindly, that we should not encourage at the same time the other contradictions, or choose what is politically most desirable at a given moment. It means that we understand that the axis of our action must focus on this contradiction. Therefore we propose, in the military sector, a line of non-selective harassment."

MLN-T refers in this part of the document, indirectly but expressively, to the ideological penetration of the FFAA and the way in which in its view this should be done, through the "dialectical contradiction" between the officers and the troops.

This is a matter of vital importance to communism and its strategy of world conquest, and therefore of tremendous significance to the security of the non-communist countries, and it even had importance at the 1920 Congress of the Third International, as was seen elsewhere⁸⁰.

Except for this reference and that contained in the basic documents of the MRO [Uruguayan Revolutionary Movement], also postulating "work within the armed forces"⁸¹ as an auxiliary form of guerrilla warfare, the communist tactic of infiltrating armies was certainly never expressed with such bold clarity in an official party document as in the Limited Circular, Circular of the Communist Party of Ecuador, dated 19 March 1975 and signed in Guayaquil by the secretary general, Pedro Saad.

Making extensive references to the current domestic political situation in that country, the circular, which was published in the Ecuadorian press⁸², openly maintained the thesis according to which "the armies of the Latin American people can serve our revolutionary interest if we adopt attitudes which will merge with the nebulous nationalism which inspires the military cadres;" and it refers to the "friendly and cordial relations" the party maintained "with the military government, through its highest representatives", as well as the fact of having "won over to our cause military leaders very close to the government, who, along with our friends and comrades in the military youth, will be the effective means of winning power and achieving our revolution". This circular added farther on that "we are definitively moving closer to the great crisis of the bourgeois state," when all of the necessary objective and subjective conditions postulated by Marxist-Leninist theory would exist, and that "when this occurs, we will be ready to replace the current government with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore," it concluded, "it is necessary that the comrades carry out the following immediate slogans strictly, with sacrifice and urgency: Constant penetration of the officers and soldiers ranks in the army and the low level officers; friendly rapprochement with the military government leaders, unit chiefs and army command, in so far as possible; temporary paralyzation--violent demands by the labor, peasant, student and teachers groups; support of the theses of the so-called individually compromised catholic clergy in any church hierarchy who adopt attitudes against the landowners and exploiters; emphasis, in every possible way, on the successes of the government in its foreign policy⁸³; most intensive encouragement of attacks on imperialism, especially in oil matters; organization of receptions and demonstrations for General Rodriguez in as many places as possible; execution of acts of sabotage and terrorism, which may be blamed on the fascist and the counterrevolutionary; obtaining weapons and explosives, to be conveniently distributed and concealed; rapid and effective actions as soon as the pertinent instructions and slogans are received.

This circular released by the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador revealed very clearly the disciplined resistance with which the international communists and their orthodox affiliates implemented the tactical line mentioned, and the agreement with that line maintained by the Marxist-Leninist seditious groups, such as the MLN-T⁸⁴.

And the document of that organization we have been quoting went on to say:

"The legislators, high officials, the oligarchy and the major press organs (targets for selective harassment) are well 'guarded', and we do not ignore them as targets, although we believe that they should be dealt with by the CE [Special Command]⁸⁵. But we believe that currently it is more effective to combat, foresee and interfere with the use of the classic repressive method (such as, pinzar movements, street patrols, etc.). It is systematic and non-selective harassment (against the host⁸⁶ and the "camels"⁸⁷, etc.). The war must reach everyone: those who declare it, those whom it suits, those who applaud it and those who wage it. And we are going to make it felt, we will act in the way which best suits us and in which we can. We believe that in the military sector the targets of non-selective harassment are the easiest (currently easier than a good defense). We propose this harassment, aware that at the beginning it will arouse a clamor⁸⁸. But this is avoided by giving it continuity. The people will understand that we too are waging war, that we are responding. But they will understand this if in each action, in each neighborhood, in each center we propagandize one or two simple slogans in large letters. In the technical sector not very much is required, in the era of explosives and explosive weaponry (mines, explosive artifacts⁸⁹, etc.).

This takes on great importance. If this comes about the reactionary press will shout to the heavens and the traditional left will react as always to the tune of its opportunism, varying between its "legality" and our "viability-success". But we will lay a foundation⁹⁰ and we will be advancing toward a real strengthening.

Naturally, this is our opinion based on the limited factors we can control."

616. In the final chapter, in which the future prospects for the seditious organization are considered, mention is made of other consideration of a general nature formulated by the leadership subsequent to those examined thus far.

Along with these considerations, whose ideological orientations and methods they maintained, they created an indissoluble whole concerning the manner of thinking and style of solutions they stubbornly sought to impose upon the country, without any results to date except for the national deterioration and unanimous rejection by the vast majority of the public.

b. Isolated Actions

617. As we have already had occasion to mention, the assessment made by the organization of certain isolated events, utilizing the method of "self-criticism", despite their somewhat limited scope, also are of particular interest because of the nature of the reflections and conclusions they contain, constituting another important factor in understanding this typical characteristic of its activities.

From among these materials we have selected for use here two documents or "reports", one pertaining to the Pando action in 1969, and the other to a so-called "hunger command" action in 1971.

1. Report on Pando

618. The document reprinted below gives the Tupamaro version of the known effort to capture the village of Pando, an event which occurred toward midday on 8 October 1969, noting the "errors" committed by the organization.

"It was decided to undertake the action and there were 15 days time for its planning. The goals were divided up on the basis of the potential of each colume at that time, to wit: 1, Sugar Loaf Bank; 5, Pando Bank; 10 UTE [General Administration of State and Electric Power and Telephones] and hearse; 15, Section, Firehouse and liaison vehicles; 20, Republic Bank.

Each colume appointed its team and they undertook the study and planning of their objectives, having a period of seven days in which to do so.

The period elapsed. There were then seven days remaining for the coordination of movements, obtaining the vehicles and choosing the roads. The CE took charge of the coordination and the roads, as well as general planning matters.

With regard to the vehicles, it was initially thought that various trucks and autos would be used, but in view of the suggestion by one colume, it was decided to use funeral home vehicles, and that colume was assigned the task.

A route was chosen which would allow withdrawal with the certainty of not encountering repressive forces along the way, but it was long and difficult to traverse, particularly if it rained. In any case, after the teams were instructed to use it, this plan was discarded and a final choice was made, a route which was speedier, better paved and easier to remember, even for people familiar with it.

619. The Sunday preceding the action the groups had the final route. Already the other details had been established, including schedules, meeting points, messages coordination, signals, propaganda texts, etc.. In addition it had been necessary to obtain uniforms, prepare a flag and obtain suitable clothing. The coordination of the transfer points by the CE remain to be done. This was done the Monday before, so that Tuesday remained for the teams to verify this. From the coordination work done by the CE it developed that some groups should change the places they had chosen.

At 9:00 a.m. on the day of the action, the comrade who would be responsible for coordination in Pando learned that the group which was to obtain the transport had not done so, but was out in the streets trying to achieve this. This comrade then went with another participant in the action to try to obtain a vehicle, at 11:00, which they succeeded in doing at 12:25. They were supposed to be in Pando at 12:45. They reached there by 1:02 p.m., making the trip from Battle Park to Pando with their lights on and horn blasting.

Meanwhile the comrades in charge of the funeral home vehicles were faced with two new factors as compared to the prior calculations: 1. the

Martinelli Enterprise⁹¹ had seven-passenger vehicles instead of the nine-passenger ones for which arrangements had been made; and 2. they had sent a small van with space for one casket instead of the truck-van expected.

This caused a change in plans. When the comrades who were waiting on the road with the Kombi saw the funeral vehicles pass and realized that the van would not hold all the drivers, they went ahead with their vehicle to load all the drivers in the Kombi. The drivers could just be crowded in. With the Kombi loaded, the cortege pretended to proceed a little further, and then the vehicles dispersed to mark time, awaiting the hour to approach the targets.

620. The action began at 12:59. The comrades in the commissariat subdued the personnel at the door, including the commissioner, among others, and entered the section, where an agent took cover and began to fire. The comrades fired at and subdued him, and seized the firehouse. The people in the street were already, at 1:00 p.m., aware of the seizure of the commissariat. The other vehicles proceeded to their objectives.

The police at the Republic Bank, the Mortgage Bank and various police agents in the street were dealt with. All of the people were alerted and witnessed the taking of the objectives. In front of the Republic Bank, the Sugar Loaf Bank and the Pando Bank, there were comrades directing street traffic.

At the main office of the COPSA [Pando Bus Cooperative, Incorporated]⁹², a block away on route 8, the disturbance was noted and three or four police agents got off some buses. Although they made some showy gestures, they did not proceed to the section office because they would have had to pass the firehouse, where armed comrades could be seen. They could have gone around the block to reach the section office, but evidently they did not feel like doing so. Moreover, they must have been aware of their inferior strength (four persons were visible at the firehouse) and they would not have been able to reach any useful position for covering the entrance to the section office without being seen by the comrades.

By this time, all of the other objectives had been taken, with the accidental wounding of one comrade at the Republic Bank. In addition, a private citizen had succeeded in fleeing from the section office before being shot down, along with a comrade who must have been the individual who then warned the Rubino Highway Office.

Seeing the nature of the development of the situation, the comrade in charge of coordination decided to change the withdrawal plan: he had learned a few moments earlier that the action in the Republic Bank was ending, and as this target was believed to be the largest, it was reasonable to suppose, if they were finishing there, that the action at the other two banks as well had been completed. He gave the order to withdraw then, first of all at the firehouse and section office (which according to the original plan would have been evacuated last) to gain time, since it was necessary to

proceed through Pando point by point. The passage of these vehicles was the signal for the UTE, and the next targets were to be the Sugar Loaf and Pando Banks. The first institution had already been evacuated, and when the coordinator neared the Pando Bank, he was faced with the skirmish there which prevented his passing, so that he had to make a detour through several streets, until on emerging on 25 May he saw in the mirror that another vehicle had followed him on the detour, and another exchange of shots occurred there with Agent Britos, in which Burgueno died⁹³.

Everyone proceeded toward the rendezvous, with the front assembly of the Peugeot breaking down a hundred meters from it, and the other vehicle riding on the rim of one rear wheel, making it necessary to abandon it and transfer the occupants to other vehicles, which was done chaotically, since a number of confusions occurred, the comrades having been instructed to take their places in certain vehicles, and the structure of the groups changed.

621. At this point already several minutes and three large vehicles had been lost, one being replaced by another smaller one brought by the Sugar Loaf people. From that time the withdrawal proceeded very slowly. The vehicles were carrying practically double the scheduled load, and each pot hole seemed to be the last they could traverse. Before leaving the road at Las Piedritas it was necessary to move the wounded comrade to another vehicle. To do this it was necessary to empty the rear part so that he could lie down, transferring these comrades to other vehicles. Advantage was taken of this maneuver to let off the drivers, since the Kombi was carrying some 13 or 14 persons. Here other precious minutes were lost, but it had to be done because of the condition of the wounded man.

From here on the van was light and ran smoothly and steadily, pulling away from the rest, for which reason the coordinator sent another vehicle on ahead in order thus to maintain the appearance of a cortege, which was believed to be necessary for the withdrawal, in view of the fact that it would be necessary to pass in front of the Cassarino Highway Office, which was accomplished without difficulty, despite the fact that one agent gave the signal to stop and another held a rifle at the ready, but neither seemed much concerned.

622. Preceding at a speed of 50 to 60 kilometers per hour, the dispersal point was reached. One of the vehicles lost its way, as a result of which the 12 comrades it carried were caught in the pinzar movement.

On reaching a point two blocks from the Repeto Road, along a route known as the Southern Cross Road, they saw two patrol cars parked across the road and blocking it near a bridge.

One comrade gave the order to abandon the vehicle and proceed across country on foot, which some of the comrades did not do. They remained near the vehicle waiting for the vehicles which were behind them. A second vehicle arrived, but its occupants, on seeing the others running across country, jumped down and did the same.

A comrade in the first vehicle stayed to wait for the Kombi and the light truck which were making the transfer (from the Kombi to the truck) nearby, and were also supposed to pass that way. They arrived a short time later and, with the occupants of the Kombi, it was decided to fire on the patrol cars, one of which had moved forward toward us. We opened fire with side arms, rifle and machine gun, and the patrol car stopped, and one of its occupants fired at the shoulder of the road, but did not return our fire.

Then the comrades turned the little truck containing all the money and weapons around by hand, and eight comrades climbed into it and drove back toward Pando.

They stopped at a low point in the road and hid the money in some drains (an unwise operation, since the money was accidentally found a few hours later by some children cutting hay), and then they hid the weapons in a woods, abandoning the truck a block from the kilometer 19 point on the Maldonado Road, leaving the zone.

The group which ran into the field, some 23 persons, began to precede cross country. They could not agree among them since some wanted to stop and devise a trick to slip through the encirclement, while others insisted on continuing to run. A meeting was held at which the two views were set forth, but there was no agreement. Finally it was agreed to continue along the Manga ravine.

Encountering a patrol, the comrade who had proposed a trick went off with two other comrades and they concealed themselves in the sector until night-fall, when they could get through the net. With regard to the fate of the other comrades, no details beyond what was published are known.

Meanwhile the occupants of the van could not find the transfer vehicle, so that they had to go into the city with the van carrying the wounded man so he could be cared for. As a result they drove around with him for more than an hour.

This is a summary of the events thus far.

623. More General Criticisms

1. Rubino Road Station.
2. Lack of knowledge of the zone.
3. No plans for confrontations.
4. Vehicles.
5. Non-combative attitude by the comrades.

1. There was disagreement about the possibility of taking this objective. It was decided not to because it was impossible at that site to do so without being seen, and at the 21 kilometer marker there was a direct telephone line to Montevideo. It was decided that running the possible risk of alerting the road station was preferable to the safety of seizing it.

2. Total knowledge of the terrain on the part of 50 comrades, over a distance of more than 20 kilometers, was practically impossible, since it was not known at what point a confrontation might occur. If such knowledge were necessary, there could be no action it would be possible to plan over a period of less than several months.

3. Confrontation was expected. Therefore the operation was planned to avoid it. If we had been certain that it would occur, we would not have carried out the action. No one could contemplate taking on the metropolitan police, army, etc., with 50 men.

4. Vehicles. It was said that the funeral vehicle should not have been used because of ready identification, unsuitability for combat, and that there should have been back-up vehicles. A. This plan made it possible to obtain six vehicles suited for transporting sizeable groups without arousing alarm. There were no places six stolen vehicles could be kept. Nor was there a possibility of equipping them if we had taken six the night before. Worse still would have been six trucks. Identification was easy but so would any caravan of seven vehicles have been along these roads. A funeral cortege could pass, but seven automobiles or trucks would have attracted equal attention or more. We could not envision as a realistic solution the concept of armored vehicles, since among other things these would offer safety only for a limited number of comrades, and in addition preparing for this would have required an infrastructure, which the possibility of the funeral vehicles eliminated. And if we had replaced them (those full of holes) in Pando with vehicles from there, more time would have been lost.

5. Little combativity. We cannot consider isolated cases, but rather the general norm. The general norm revealed a good level of combativity, as shown in the resistance at the commissariat, in the skirmish at the Pando Bank and the exchange of fire with the patrol car on the Repeto Road.

The comrades who were surrounded in a ratio of a thousand to twenty could not in any way have broken out of such an encirclement, supplemented by air power, and it seems to us unjust to criticize them for lack of combativity. If they had had more ammunition, the result would have been the same. Those who escaped did so by separating from the others, but not all could have escaped.

624. Criticisms of the Action:

1. Abandonment of comrade at the Republic Bank. This comrade was with two others in the manager's office, in charge of more than ten persons. One comrade fired accidentally and wounded the other, for which reason the two went outside. One was cared for in the back seat of a vehicle, and the other waited for his comrade who had been left alone in the manager's office.

The operation continued and at the end a comrade gave a speech in homage to Che Guevara, in farewell, in a voice so loud that he was heard from the street. Inexcusably, the others did not hear him. Waiting for the other comrades, he was left behind in the withdrawal.

As the back seat of the vehicle was occupied by the wounded man, many of the comrades who had to get out rode in the Kombi, such that the preestablished structure of the group was changed, and it is in no way possible to blame them for this either.

The same criticism applies to the fact that the comrades did not realize that because of the shooting accident, this comrade had been left behind.

2. The estimated time for withdrawal was greatly changed. When the choice was made to withdraw along a main highway (Andaluz Road), it was with full awareness that the alarm would already have been given and that all of the police vehicles in General Flores zone, etc., would proceed along Cuchilla Grande and the Andaluz Road. Therefore, plans called for leaving the latter as soon as possible, which was done without meeting police vehicles.

That the estimates were not too optimistic is shown by the fact that despite the sounding of the alarm, presumably between 1:00 and 3:00, and a delay because of a vehicle breakdown and a slowdown estimated at 15 to 20 minutes due to overload, the bulk of the caravan was able to disperse in the city without problems as well. The criticism would be applicable if it were thought that it was not possible to predict this loss of time.

3. The order to disperse to the fields was hasty. There were still two other alternatives: to turn back and to seek another way out, as the light truck later did, or to engage in battle with the patrol cars blocking the street, and removing this obstacle.

625. Political and Military Assessments

We launched the organization into actions with broad scope and ambitious goals.

We must be aware that we have a large organization--larger than the majority of the Latin American guerrilla forces have had--and we must launch the great actions which cause anguish to the regime with the risk that this apparatus will be destroyed without doing battle.

Pando showed that these large scale occasions are within our reach, despite the difficulties in the withdrawal.

This has meant a national and international political advance. We are not an alternative regime, we do not play the "card of the masses" until we attack major targets which show the vulnerability of the regime. The people, despite the later difficulties, highly valued the fact that we could control a city for a certain time, and here lies our political advance.

Pando, in addition, broke through the wall of silence carefully constructed around us by the reactionaries.

It was proclaimed internationally as a guerrilla action without precedent in this part of America, persuading the entire world that the regime is being challenged by a guerrilla force.

Internally we succeeded in habituating our comrades to real guerrilla action, which should not be confused with the minor blows involving little risk which have been our practice."

2. Report on a "Hunger Command"

626. The so-called "Hunger Command" were "expropriation" or "financing" actions in which the members of the seditious organization engaged, particularly at the beginning of their activities, in the period when they enjoyed a "Robin Hood" reputation, involving stealing clothing, foodstuffs and other products from stores and warehouses and distributing them among the inhabitants of poor quarters, with an obviously demagogic intent of winning public support.

The first event of this sort which occurred was the attack of a "Jose Artigas Youth Command", at Christmas time in 1963, against the Manzanares S.A. firm, and to the benefit of the inhabitants of the Aparicio Saravia quarter in Montevideo. "...A spectacular action later attributed to the Tupamaros," a panegyrist of the seditious group was to comment some time later, "which was in retrospect to arouse the sympathy of the republic with regard to them"⁹⁴.

627. The report reprinted below refers to a "Hunger Command" attempt made in the middle of 1971 but which failed to come off, due to the intervention of a police official. It ended with the death of "Cristobal"⁹⁵, one of the members of the group, during the attempt to carry off the robbery at the selected enterprise.

The "criticism" was justly made of the way in which this deed was undertaken. The criticism of the "lack of hatred" of the enemy shown by the organization "recently", due to a "bourgeois" complex of class origin merits stress. The enemy must be "struck down" without mercy, etc..

628. "The column 15 command informs the comrades of its evaluation of the events which occurred recently.

Events: an action group from this column undertook on 22 June 1971 to carry out a "Hunger Command".

The planning done by the group included the "squeeze"⁹⁶, transportation of the goods expropriated, and withdrawal from the site. Within these plans, the support group comrades made arrangements to "disarm" themselves⁹⁷ outside the zone an hour and a half after the comrade in charge of the sector consulted the plans and decided to change the location of the "squeeze" and the procedure for "disarming", including another comrade in the former operation and instructing the comrades to "disarm" within the premises, leaving before the trucks. The person in charge of the support group carried out support functions outside the premises because the zone was not secure. A comrade was responsible for the "squeeze" (only three comrades, she and two others, knew of the changes).

Executions. The "squeeze" proceeded normally, as did the loading of the vehicles. With the transfer complete, Comrade Cristobal (dead) turned his weapon over to the comrade in the truck (within the premises). He was surprised because Cristobal said he had been told to do this. The comrade took the weapon and left. The truck started up. The comrade in charge told Cristobal to lower the grill, just as the lady entered, and they "restrained" her. The grill was not yet down. At the same time, the comrade in charge outside noticed a corpulent individual in a black jeep and an old man who crossed toward the premises and opened the jeep. The comrade was suspicious and decided to approach. The two strangers entered the premises and Cristobal told them they were Tupamaros and to go to the back. The other comrade came from the rear. The corpulent individual resisted and struck this comrade. She was carrying her weapon in her blouse and was slow in extracting it. The individual threw himself upon her and seized her arm. Cristobal moved to draw his weapon and realized he no longer had it. The two comrades struggled with the individual, working their way out of the premises. The comrades in charge shouted that they should get away. He ran out, dropping the weapon. The individual in question picked it up, shot Cristobal and fired in the direction of the other comrades, who escaped.

629. Certain evaluations will be transmitted orally.

The reconstruction of these events was achieved with the help of the group and other trustworthy sources. They all agree in this view. The assessment of the group on what occurred is also being passed on orally.

Evaluation of the Command. From the objective facts one can see various errors in the implementation of long standing criteria in the organization, wherein the command is responsible for its control functions and for seeing that an evaluation of these objective facts reaches the comrades, through its self criticism.

First of all it is desirable to clarify what the SM [Military Sector]⁹⁸ is today and what prospects it has.

According to what was said in document five, we are preparing to make an advance in matters pertaining to the arms struggle (FLN [National Liberation Front]). The SM of the organization will contribute officers to the FLN, comrades who must be political-military cadres, capable of leading the actions of an irregular army, in which discipline, technical knowledge, military art will not be the most outstanding characteristics, but quite the contrary. These are the qualifications an MLN comrade must have. On the other hand, the SM of the organization also advances in quality, reserving for its members the most responsible goals, reprisals and actions of greater scope, the bulk of the harrassment being left in the hands of the SP [Political Sector]⁹⁹.

The characteristics of the moment indicate that it is difficult to go into the streets today and not have a possibility of confrontation. Yesterday it was indeed unlikely and tomorrow it will be the daily thing (we will defeat the enemy in a war of attrition, but energetic, for with explosions and Molotov cocktails alone we are hurting no one). This characteristic and the coming one mean that the comrades must have a new combat mentality, dictated by new and old criteria (many of which we are not observing today).

630. I. Weapons Problems. It has been noted that there is a tendency to feel that the weapon is "burning" oneself, that it is necessary to get rid of the weapons rapidly, and it has not been realized that in a tight spot the only thing which saves us today is the weapons and not words. We have before us this impetent gesture by our dead comrade, his effort to draw his weapon. The outcome would have been otherwise if Cristobal had had his weapon, certainly very different. Today it is necessary to withdraw from the zone of action with the weapon, and soon the time will come when each comrade is assigned a weapon and will have to take it with him to his home or premise. Perhaps we must always have these sad experiences in order to realize the reason criteria are established. This is not the first time for us, but indeed it will be the last. There is no reason to experience a difficult situation and to be saved by a firearm to realize how important it is. And there is much experience with this determining its value.

To appreciate the value of the firearm and all its weapons is the task of the moment.

On the other hand we also find that in a difficult moment, we forget the weapon. The weapon is the first thing to come to hand. The rest comes afterward. The comrade sees the comrade, and then leaves. The weapon remains, our comrade is killed and then they fire at the rest of us. Without a doubt (remember Dos Santos, sub-commander, and the latter).

631. II. Problems of Solidarity. "Wounded comrades must be removed from the zone and taken to the medical unit." This is a law of the organization. The combat mentality included coolness and courage. It is possible that in an exchange of fire a comrade may fall, and this comrade must be taken from there, because in action we are all shoulder to shoulder and not each one for himself. This criterion is basic, fundamental, the highest expression

of revolutionary comradeship. We must cultivate it with energy. Not to use it is not to serve, is to put confidence in the void and therefore to fall. Discussion and understanding of this problem is also an urgent task of the moment. There is much that we lack in this struggle, but let there not be a lack of solidarity among us, or we will not go very far.

632. III. Problem of Hatred of the Enemy. Che Guevara says that a revolutionary carries a contradiction on his shoulders: "On the one hand he feels a great hatred for the enemy, and on the other, a great love for mankind." This statement is indeed true. It is necessary to hate the enemy, however many assessments of alienation, etc., we may make. In this connection too a great lack on the part of the organization has been noted.

We must strike down those seized. Recently we have failed in this.

Many of us, because of class background, do not have this hatred expressed by the exploited in combat. Many of us have compassion for our enemies due to a false political evaluation.

The proletarianized comrades who understand that this is a class war express their hatred in the actions, in the seizures (when the enemy is involved, of course) etc. Other comrades who still live with the liberal and bourgeois distortions of the class from which many of us come give weight to these factors and do not develop this proper combat mentality.

To become proletarianized, that is to say to realize oneself through work, or we might better say to become Tupamarized in action, contacts, tasks, discussions, study, etc., is to seize the moment, to awaken class hatred in ourselves as well.

633. On Concrete Facts

III. What a member of GA [Support Group]¹⁰⁰ should be.

II. What the head of a GA should be.

I. What the head of a SM¹⁰¹ should be.

General Considerations. To belong to the SM, first of all, it is necessary to meet a number of requirements, some of which are inherent while others are gained in combat, but they are developed basically in the SP [Political Sector]¹⁰². These characteristics are:

1. A just understanding of the line of the organization. Here not mercenaries but revolutionary soldiers are needed.
2. Minimal technical knowledge.
3. Responsibility, decision and courage.

4. Poise and calm.

5. All of the Tupamaros' characteristics, or progress toward them (see evaluation of cadres).

6. Combat mentality. Entails what was explained above.

4. Peace Discussion.

634. In the month of July 1952, and in view of the increasing collapse of the organization the executive committee of the MLN-T suggested the possibility of reaching a peace agreement. In this suggestion there was talk of a possible solution which in addition "to pacifying the various sectors and groups with an attitude of resistance to the regime or in arms against it," would also mean "an advance in the production of the country and the distribution of the national wealth," extending over bases "supported by everyone," in accordance with which, concern should be devoted on the economic front to agrarian reform, development of fishing, urban development plans, housing, reorganization of a middleman and credit system, all in the hands of the state, that is to say nationalization of foreign trade and credit, to which should be added nationalization of all the intermediary levels up to the level of what is produced. Unconditional surrender is not possible: "We can only conceive of the dismantling of the MLN when an attack has been begun on the evils from which the country suffers, taking into account that its members merit honorable social treatment, since we do not believe ourselves to be criminals, but Uruguayans struggling for what we consider just." With the surrender of the leaders a great propaganda impact would be achieved, but in the realm of classification, exactly the opposite of what is sought would be brought about," etc..

FOOTNOTES

42. To strictly adhere to the logic of the affected Lunfardo that it uses the editorial committee should have used the term "fierrismo" [ironclad-ism].

43. "Moco de pavo": a familiar expression meaning "something unimportant."

44. A reference to the first abduction of Pereira Reverbel, in August 1968.

45. Police commissioner of Montevideo.

46. 18 March 1969.

47. 13 October 1968.

48. A reference to a special type of small truck used by this police force in the street operations.

49. Mentioned subsequently.

50. See Chapter X, 5, c, Other Plans, No 488.
51. Ibid., 5, a, Nos 471 and 55.
52. "Remaining outside of troya": being ostracized, or excluded.
53. An allusion to the tactical method of operating within the "H" line, which consists of holding visible shows of force during the operations as if the operations were on a grand scale; and, as soon as the action of the legal forces is discernible, falling back, and thus having an opportunity to assess the reaction capacity, flexibility, speed, etc., of those forces. By repeating this tactic periodically, they can gage the potential for action of the enemy, and appraise its method of operation. The name is taken from the popular dance, the technique for which consists precisely of taking two steps forward and one step back.
54. "Two powers," or "dual power." See Chapter X, c, Tactics, No 446.
55. Revolutionary justice.
56. See Chapter X, 5, c, Other Plans, op. cit.
57. Attempt to surround the town of that name, on 8 October 1969. See this date in Chapter XIV, 2, Chronology; also, see 3, b, 1, Nos 618 and ff, subsequently.
58. See Chapter X, 5, c, Other Plans, op. cit.
59. See chapter cited, 5, a, Nos 471 and ff.
60. Reference to the kidnapping of the British Ambassador of that name on 8 January 1971.
61. Court prosecutor kidnapped on 10 March 1971.
62. Former minister of economy and finance.
63. Intervention Commission appointed for the secondary school sector and the Labor University in February of 1970 as a means of counteracting subversive infiltration of these educational centers.
64. 23 December 1970.
65. Reference to the 26 March Independents Movement, the "political arm" of the MLN-T, dealt with previously. (Nos 218 et seq.)
66. Another name for the "guacha," the column functioning in Chile, to which reference has already been made.
67. Members of the Carabineers' Forces murdered by the MLN-T.

68. Reference to a specific plan for escape from the prisons.
69. "Regalados" [a gift] -- for the asking, very easy and convenient.
70. "Verso" -- writing, motto, proclamation, speech prepared in advance; seemingly innocent explanation agreed upon ahead of time to conceal the truth; preestablished lie to deceive the enemy; alibi.
71. Vol II, Chapter I, 2, Nos 689 et seq.
72. Internal intelligence service.
73. Reference to the police operation which culminated on 30 September 1971.
74. A summary of the shortcomings will be found in Vol II, Chapter I, 4, Nos 698, 699 and 700.
75. Infrastructure.
76. Street contacts or liaison.
77. Reference to the declaration of a state of civil war.
78. Reference to the quadruple assassination planned and committed by the seditious organization on 14 April 1972, launching its "offensive."
79. Keen, alert, quick witted.
80. No 13, above.
81. Nos 118 and 639/187.
82. EL UNIVERSO, in Guayaquil. Also see the complete text of this document in EL DIA, 13 June 1975, Montevideo.
83. The blows dealt to the OAS, revocation of the sanctions imposed upon Cuba, alignment with the countries of the third world, entry into the OPEC.
84. A report to the effect that the socialists were carrying out a campaign of penetrating the armed forces of Venezuela "to promote a Peruvian or Portuguese solution" was delivered by the former president of that country, Romulo Bentancourt, to the National Convention of his party, Democratic Action, on 19 July 1975, sounding a warning against this danger.
85. CE (Commandos especiales) -- special command.
86. "Postas" [Posts] -- guards, watchmen.

87. "Camellos" [Camels] -- army vehicles so called because of their external appearance.
88. "Alharacas" [Clamor] -- astonishment, excessive emotion.
89. "Caza Bobos" -- disguised explosive artifacts set to go off.
90. "Hacer Piso" -- to establish oneself, consolidate.
91. Former Montevidean funeral establishment.
92. Pando Bus Cooperative Corporation.
93. Carlos Burgueno. Uninvolved in the events, he was wounded in the exchange of fire and died of the wounds he received.
94. Alain Labrousse, "The Tupamaros," previously quoted, p 39.
95. Pedro Oclides Baez Cerchiaro.
96. Seizure of vehicles for use in an attack or operation, as explained in another chapter.
97. "Desenfierrarse" -- to disarm oneself.
98. Meaning the military sector.
99. Political sector.
100. Support Group.
101. Military Sector.
102. Political Sector.

XIV. Events

1. Action and Thinking
2. Chronology

EVENTS

1. Action and Thinking

635. The Uruguayan subversive process was reflected in a multiplicity of events in daily life over a period of almost 15 years.

Without prejudice to more distant precedents, this work begins with the year 1960, which is when the country began to feel the direct effects of the activities of Castro communism in Latin America, analyzed in Chapter II, and covers the period until 31 December 1973, which is when the cycle described ended.

This does not mean that subversion has ceased to exist, since there are clear indications of its persistence, although with an adapted strategy and applying different tactics, resulting from the new circumstances imposed by the defeat imposed on the military level on the seditious organizations in the course of 1972 by the FFCC.

This chapter seeks precisely to make this subversive process understood through the concrete events which marked it throughout the mentioned period. To do this, the same method used to document Latin American subversion¹ has been employed.

636. As occurred in that connection, the inexhaustible repertory of events which occurred in Uruguay during this period and the discussion they provoked constitute vivid and enlightening testimony of the intricate subversive web.

Isolated episodes, unprecedented attitudes, events seemingly beyond understanding or without visible logical links find their explanation in the overall picture.

The chronological relation of subversive events in Uruguay which follows, inevitably limited and fragmentary, is supplemented by the references to many of the newspaper articles, studies and publications related to them directly or indirectly, written by independent authors, in some cases, or the propagandist or intellectual or political agents of subversion or those directly involved, in others, concerning the social, economic, political and cultural problems the country is experiencing; on the seditious activities and their protagonists; or on the role and the meaning which should, in their judgement, be attributed to this conglomerate of factors.

The journalistic and bibliographic references, above all, although extensive, are not exhaustive, being cited by way of example. However, they provide an idea of the constant ideological and propaganda bombardment which long years of Marxist mollification made it possible to unload with impunity on Uruguayan society and the new generations being educated.

A review of this repertory, despite its limitations, will prove of interest to the ordinary leader, and should even be of interest to security experts as well, providing them with a general sketch broad enough to allow them to penetrate deeper into the plot woven against the republic, its causes, those responsible for it, its immediate effect and future prospects, facilitating the task of analyzing and subversive cycle which has not yet been completed and which is susceptible to future reactivation.

637. In particular, these references contribute to a better understanding of the significance of many of the documents of the seditious organization dealt with in the preceding chapters, and to their proper situation within the framework of their era, discrimination among the circumstances, situations and personages referred to, often not entirely clearly, the reconstruction and interpretation of episodes in one of the saddest periods in our national history, delimiting the course of the formation and expansion of subversion and its multiple implications of a political, economic-social, ideological, sociological and philosophical nature.

In an era in which things are rapidly forgotten, in which the dizzying succession of new events, given a reality which is always urgent, erases what is passed from the memory, few are aware of what the Uruguay really was and above all what its capitol was like under the threat of the crime, fear and death which for interminable years and with every passing day the terrorist gangs imposed upon the life of society, in the implementation of the plans and for the purposes studied earlier in this work.

The memory of that pathetic five-year period from 1968 to 1972, in particular, in that Uruguay of street tumults, bombs, plunder, robbery, seizures, attacks, clandestine courts and prisons, kidnappings and assassinations, daring and barbarous acts and ambush at every corner, to the enragement of humble policemen and soldiers, that Montevideo stuck dumb with fear, with its long nights of anguish hovering over the homes and the deserted streets, traversed only by an occasional pedestrian hastening stealthily from shadow to shadow--this and none other is a memory of pain and shame which any mention of these events revives. It is a vast and sinister picture of provocation and challenge to the nation, to its traditions and the culture of an industrious, peaceful and long-suffering people, which the mere reference to the events brings alive again in the minds of those who experienced it, and who, in order that it not be forgotten, must pass it on to the new generations and to the historians responsible for recording the past, as evidence of the degradation and the chaos to which Uruguay found itself subjected in one of the most dramatic eras in its existence.

638. The criticism which perhaps could be made of the list which follows is that it is not more extensive. Although it is materially impossible to make a complete list of all the events, the most important of them have without a doubt been noted, providing a general view of what really happened and serving as a reference point for the more detailed and profound reconstruction which future investigators will certainly undertake to establish.

2. Chronology

639. With regard to the form in which this chronological list is presented to the reader, the criteria for drafting it and other methodological problems, reference is made to what was explained earlier in this work².

1. 1960 - 6 June. The so-called National Movement for Solidarity With Cuba held a public propaganda ceremony on the Castro Regime, at which Joaquin Purcallas, Marcos Lichsteinstein, Artigas Sanchez, Julio Luis Grauert and Lys Daguerre de Olivera spoke.

1a 21 November. The authorities investigated the role played by the Cuban ambassador, Mario Garcia Inchaustegui, in the encouragement of strikes and disturbances.

2. 1961 - Circular No 861 of the National Secondary Education Council ordered the directors of educational institutions to report to the police and the courts any "seizures" of the premises by students, representing "a crime which must be punished," etc..

3. 12 January. The government ordered the Cuban ambassador, Mario Garcia Inchaustegui, expelled, having demonstrated his participation in the planning of strikes and domestic conflicts.

4. 16 January. Caravan of vehicles provided a farewell escort for the Cuban ambassador, EL POPULAR. With this caption, a photograph published by the news organ of the PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay] documented the parade of people in buses and trucks to the Carrasco National Airport for this purpose. The newspaper depicted this typical communist artifice as yet another expression of the "deeply affectionate love of the Uruguayan people for the Cuban revolution and their rejection of the government decree declaring the ambassador of that country persona non grata."

4a 23 January. Return to Uruguay of a group of citizens who, on a special invitation from the government of Cuba through its embassy in Montevideo, made a trip to Havana. They included Felix Diaz Clavijo, Raul Gadea Gutierrez, Luis Gil Salguero, Hector Pio Rodriguez Da Silva, Omar Sosa and Julio E. Suarez Sedraschi.

5. March. Eugenio Gomez, "History of the Communist Party of Uruguay (up to the year 1951)", Montevideo, Elite.
- 5a 13 March. J. F. Kennedy, Alliance for Progress, Montevideo, USIS [United States Information Service].
- 5b 3 April. The police searched the farm at No 4227 Haig Street in Montevideo, Sáyago quarter, the location of a sanatorium for patients suffering from nervous ailments run by Doctor Juan Jose Ormaechea, director of the Uruguayan Medical Trade Union, and it was found that this establishment was in reality a front for an PCU Indoctrination Agitation School headed by Jose Luis Massera Lerena.
- 5c 20 April. The sessions of the constituent assembly of the CTU [Uruguayan Workers Center] began. For the purpose, communist leaders from various countries were summoned, including among others Vicente Lombardo Toledano, of Mexico, Antonio Cabrera and Manuel Rodriguez, of Argentina, Eladio Carranza Astiategui, Vicente Valdez Negrete and Abel Castano, of Cuba, Antonio Chamorro and Joao Louzada, of Brazil, Victor Mora, of Costa Rica, Julio Benitez, of Chile, Ivan Sinsic, of Yugoslavia, Luigi Grassi, of the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions], etc.
- 6a 13 May. Three representatives of Red China arrived at the Carrasco National Airport from Havana on a Cuban Aviation Company flight. They were accompanied by Guillermo Elias Aginsky Gonzalez, a Uruguayan student and member of the UJC [Union of Communist Youth] returning from a trip to Cuba. The police seized subversive propaganda materials the travellers were carrying.
- 6b 13 May. Shortly afterward, another delegation of pro-Castro Uruguayans to which the government of Cuba had issued an invitation departed on the same plane. They included Maria Acosta Ferreira, Cesar A. Aldaz Fresero, Leopoldo G. Artucio de Sierra, Julia Arevalo de Roche, Sergio I. Benvenuto Machado, Guillermo Nernhard Indarte, Ariel H. G. Badano Pereira, Ricardo W. Bayarres Marmo, Virginia M. Castro Pereira, Jose G. Cassanello Rossi, Jorge R. Castillo Malmierca, Andres Felix Cultelli Chiribao, Evaristo Cuervo Romero, Ruben H. Castro Dagnino, Judith Dellapiane de Rama, Luis Alberto Etchepare Silva, Juan B. Facello, Armando G. Gonzalez, Juan Jose Lopez Silveira, Carlos A. Leite Rivero, Luis Nelson Martirena Fabrigat, Nelson J. Minelli Martini, Jorgelina Martinez Vecchio, Enrique L. Martinez Gallardo, Dumas Orono Gadola, Jose Ricardo Otero, Juan C. Pla Iribarne, Luis A. Perez, Roberto M. Prieto Prieto, Washington R. Perez Rossini, Rosario Pietrarroia Marcos Mauricio Rosencof Silberman, Omar Rovira Graigdallie, Jose A. Salguero Duarte, Armando U. Dubal Figoli, Aramis Tavaréz del Castillo, Americo Trabanco Basilio, etc.

- 6c 6 July. The national convention of the UJC began its sessions, in the course of which the importance of mobilizing the youth in the movement for solidarity with Cuba was stressed, as a practical example of what the UJC could do in creating a national leftist front.
7. 23 July. Another contingent of Uruguayans departed for Cuba on the special invitation of the government in Havana. They included Sonia Belous de Dutrenit, Raul Betarte Martinez, Luis Pedro Bonavita Espinosa, Luis Veinerado Calcerrada Toledo, Angel Maria Cusano, Gerardo Cuesta Vila, Ruben Dario Fernandez Zamora, Anatolio Palamarchuk, Edmundo Benjamin Soares Netto, Luis Enrique Santamaria, and Ruben Carlos Tardaguila Tejeda. Argentine and Paraguayan recipients of invitations also took that same flight.
- a August. Santicaten³, "Uruguay, Year 2000," Montevideo, Gaceta Comercial (Trade Gazette).
- b 17 August. Various other invited guests of different nationalities travelled to Havana on a Cuban Aviation Company flight. The Uruguayans included Anhele Hernandez Rios, Rodolfo Hipolito Lopez Rodriguez, Joaquin Ibanez Pedemonte and Jesualdo Sosa Olivera.
- 7c A lecture was given at the university, under the sponsorship of the FEUU [Federation of University Students of Uruguay], the CTU and the National Coordination Committee, by Ernesto Guevara, on the best way of establishing a political system similar to that in Cuba in Uruguay.
- 7d September. The First National Congress of Rural Wage-earners was held in Montevideo. Organized by the communists, it had the support of the UP, the PS [Socialist Party] and the Cuban Embassy.
- 8 5 October. The government limited the movement of the USSR Embassy diplomatic personnel within the country.
- 8a 3 November. A large delegation from Argentina made up of 86 invited guests took a Cuban aviation company flight from the Carrasco National Airport bound for Cuba.
- 9 22 November. Carlos Parteli, Bishop of Tacuarembó, Pastoral Letter on Agricultural Problems.
- 9a 24 December. About 100 persons, including deputy Ariel Collazo and EL POPULAR newsmen Niko Schvartz, gathered at Carrasco National Airport to bid farewell to another group of Uruguayans invited

to visit Cuba by its government. The travelers included: Carlos Arizaga Buscaglia, Carlos Maria Borsche Costa, Rogelio Cabrera Aloy, Marcos Canetti Nakson, Walter Hugo Caneiro Pena, Enrique Centron Mieres, Rodolfo Valentin Cora Basso, Victorio Cassartelli Binogui, Dolores Castillos, Angel Manuel Gines Alvarez, Ano Maria Hounie Moron, Alfredo Lopez Viqueira, Virgilio Alcibiades Muniz Britos, Raquel Moron de Lopez, Adolfo Mendez Cayrolle, Natalio Medniek Kiozner, Carlos Motto Fernandez, Ruben Maro Navillat Odriozola, Juan Pio Ruiz, Ramon Aurelio Perez Gonzalez, Adolfo Jose Pascale Rovira, Elbio Quinteros Bethancourt, Angel Antonio Rama Facal, Jose Antonio Rios Franco, Maria M. Sueiro, Victor Manuel Santurio Garcia and Leonor Susana Tuffano.

- 10 1962 Harry Allen Overstreet and Bonaro Wilkinson Overstreet, "The War We Call Peace," Montevideo, Herrero.
- 11 Rodney Arismendi, "Central Committee Evaluation Report," Montevideo, periodical ESTUDIOS.
- 12 Rodeny Arismendi, "Problems of a Continental Revolution," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 13 Horacio Asiain Marquez, "Crossing the Bridge, or I was An Anti-Semite," Montevideo, Judeo-Christian Brotherhood.
- 14 Otto G. Benitez, "The Foreigners," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 15 Guilerrmo Bernhard, "Agrarian Reform in the Latin American Countries," Prologue by Zelmar Michelini, review by Remigio Lamas, Jose P. Cardozo, Ariel Collazo, Julia Arevalo de Roche, Montevideo, Claudio Garcia.
- 16 Mario Bon Expasandin, "Belen; A People and a Path; Life, Culture and Development of a Uruguayan Community. Social Aspects of Underdevelopment," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 17 Juan Antonio Borges and Elsa Fernandez, "Muddy Waters; Looking Toward the Countryside... The Uruguayan Anguish," Tacuarembó, Voz del Pueblo [Voice of the People].
- 18 Esteban F. Campal, "Men, Land and Cattle," Foreword by Francisco Espinola, Montevideo, Area.
- 19 Juan Jose Carbajal Victorica, "Trade Unionism and Democracy," Montevideo.
- 20 Fidel Castro Ruz, "Self-criticism of the Cuban Revolution," Montevideo, Uruguay.

- 21 "50 Lives and 50 Truths Concerning the USSR," Montevideo,
Press Committee of the Communist Party.
- 22 Francisco de Ferrari, "The Ideals of Batllism," Montevideo.
- 23 Administrative and Court Documents Pertaining to the Collective
Abandonment of Tasks Undertaken by Municipal Officials on
20 January 1960, Montevideo Departmental Council, Montevideo.
- 24 Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, "A Single American Cry -- We Will
Triumph! Cuba Is the Accuser! -- Against the Imperialist
Aggression," Cuban Embassy.⁴
- 25 Carlos Frick Davies, "Land, Underdevelopment and Agrarian Reform,"
Montevideo, Inter-American Trade and Production Council.
- 26 Francisco Juliaio, "Listen, Peasant," Montevideo, Presente.
- 27 "Cuba Bears the 'Blame,'" Montevideo, Ediciones Estrellas.⁵
- 28 Ricardo Martinez Ces, "Batllist Uruguay," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 29 Maria Blanca Paris de Oddone, Roque Faraone, and Juan Antonio
Oddone, "Comparative Chronology of the History of Uruguay,
1830-1945," Montevideo, University of the Republic.⁶
- 30 Plan for a Contribution to the Economic and Social Development
of Uruguay, Uruguayan Trade Union Confederation, Montevideo.
- 31 Carlos M. Rama, "Social Revolution and Fascism in 20th Century,"
Montevideo, Palestra.
- 32 Extraordinary Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social
Council on the Ministerial Level, Punta del Este. "Conception
and Planning of the Alliance for Progress, Punta del Este
Charter, August 1961," Montevideo, Norte-Sur.
- 33 Vicente Rovetta, "The Rural Peon and Farm Plot," Essay,
Montevideo, Ciudadela.
- 34 Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, "The Contemporary International
Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union,"
Montevideo, Letras.
- 35 Gabriel Terro, Jr., "Gabriel Terra and the Historical Truth,"
Montevideo.

- 36 Vivian Trias, "Agrarian Reform in Uruguay," Montevideo, El Sol.
- 37 Eduardo A. Viera, "Fidel's Address and the Latin American Revolution; On the Subject of the Opinions of Dr Quijano, Published in MARCHA," Montevideo, Press Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
- 38 USSR Academy of Social Sciences, affiliated with the Central Committee of the Communist Party, "Problems in Communist Education," Montevideo, America Nueva.
- 39 USSR Press Agency Novosti, "The USSR Saved the Peace," Montevideo, Letras.
- 40 Charles Wright Mills and others, "The Intellectuals and Politics," foreword, translation and notes by Carlos Rama, Montevideo, Nuestro Tiempo.
- 41 18th Congress of the Communist Party, Joint Report, Montevideo.
- 42 18th Congress of the Communist Party, General Resolutions, Montevideo, periodical ESTUDIOS.
- 43 January. Pursuant to the Inter-American Treaty on Mutual Aid and on the Initiative of Colombia, the 8th Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics was held in Punta del Este to consider the situation created by Cuba when it officially announced that it was a Marxist-Leninist state. Resolution No 1 of this meeting denounced "the dangers threatening the institutions of these republics in view of the subversive campaign of the communist governments, their agents and the organizations controlled by them, designed to destroy democracy and establish totalitarian dictatorships in the service of powers outside this continent." The most outstanding features of this campaign "are the statements, set forth in official documents by the leading organs of international communism, to the effect that one of their main goals is to establish communism in the underdeveloped countries and in Latin America and the presence of a Marxist-Leninist government in Cuba, publicly identified with the doctrine and foreign policy of the communist powers." Resolution No 2 created a Special Consultative Commission on Security against international communist action. Resolution No 5 created the Alliance for Progress. No 6 excluded "the present government of Cuba from participating in the inter-American system." Present representing that country was Ernesto Guevara, minister of industry, who in speaking of that alliance, said among other things: "This Alliance for Progress is an effort to seek solutions within the framework of economic imperialism. We believe that the Alliance for Progress, under these conditions, will be a failure."

- 43a 17 January. Following the public ceremony in support of Cuba organized by the communists on the Esplanade of the University, at which Omar Mir, Juan Antonio Trimboli and Nelson Minello spoke, a "foot march" to Punta del Este was launched, for the double purpose of protesting against the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of American Republics, thus bearing witness to the "support of the Uruguayan people" for Cuba, and revolutionary and military training and preparation for the young cadres. Among the organizations participating were the UJC, the JS [Socialist Youth], the MRO, the FEUU, the Batllist Advance Group, the Transportation Workers Federation, the Wool Workers Federation, etc. Among many others, Eduardo Pinella Acosta, Washington Rodriguez Beletti, Ruben Alberto Sosano del Rio, Jose Alberto Mujica Cordano, etc., participated in this march.
- 43b 27 January. Another contingent of 100 Latin American guests invited to Havana departed for that country. The group included the following Uruguayans: Federico J. Britos Ruiz, Norma Britos de Opizo, Federico Garcia Vigil, Cristina Lagorio Gonzalez, Waldo Nunez Insua and Amalia Solarich de Chizmic.
- 44 April. Cane cutters from the Department of Artigas, rallied by the UTAA [Artigas Sugar Workers Union] marched from Artigas to Montevideo, arriving on the 26th, to make a public statement of the difficult conditions of life and labor existing on the sugar plantations and establishments in the north, and to demand the expropriation of 300,000 hectares of land. Commentaries attribute the organization and ideological leadership of the cane workers movement and the founding of the UTAA to Raul Sendic Antonaccio.
- 44a 24 April. University extension in the southern quarter, Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 45 5 May. During a press conference being held in the headquarters of the CSU [Confederation of Uruguayan Trade Unions], about 100 cane cutters interrupted, causing a violent clash which spread into the streets. A shot fired from the window of a trade union premise caused the death of Dora Isabel Lopez de Oricchio, a nursing student. This incident was the culmination of the conflict



Che Guevara at Punta del Este: negative words

- 45 1962 between the UTAA and the CSU, dating back several months, when the latter, of which the former is a branch, signed a collective agreement with the owners resulting in a dismissal of 68 workers.
- 46 11 May. Raul Sendic, leader of the UTAA, was arrested in Paysandu and taken to the Montevideo police headquarters, being released after several days detention.
- 47 July. Santicaten, "The Country of Fear," Montevideo, Glucksman Cinesa.
- 47a 1 July. The PCU held its 18th Congress, formalizing its policy of leftist unity on the national level, and absolute identification with the Cuban regime on the continental level. This congress was attended by delegates of the CPSU and the Communist Parties of Cuba,⁸ Argentina,⁹ Bolivia,¹⁰ Brazil,¹¹ Colombia,¹² Chile,¹³ Ecuador,¹⁴ France,¹⁵ Italy,¹⁶ Paraguay,¹⁷ Peru, ¹⁸, etc.
- 48 December. Santicaten, "Campo de Mayo," Montevideo, Glucksman Cinesa.
- 49 1963 Rodney Arismendi, Selmar Balbi, and Luis Silva Reberman, "National Culture, Public Education and the Communist Party," Montevideo, Press Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
- 50 Jose Pedro Barran and Benjamin Nahum, "Economic Foundations of the Artigas Revolution," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 51 Mario Bon Espasandin, "Cantegriles,"¹⁹ Montevideo, Tupac Amaru.
- 52 Diogenes Cano, "Red Heads in Uruguay," Montevideo, Rumbos.
- 53 "Compendium of the History of the USSR," Montevideo, Uruguay.
- 54 Hiber Conteris, "The Southern Cone," Montevideo, MARCHA.
- 55 "The Sino-Soviet Controversy," Montevideo.
- 56 "Education and Development in Latin America," Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Montevideo.
- 57 Eduardo B. Gomez, "The Enigma of Artigas in Paraguay," Montevideo, Rex.
- 58 Juan Antonio Gonzalez Calderon, "Artigas, the Precursor of Republican Federalism," 12th Year Instructions, Historical Institute, Montevideo.

- 59 1963 Hector Gros Espiell, "The Constitution and International Treaties," Montevideo, Ministry of Foreign Relations.
- 60 Bert Hoseitz, "Economic Development in Latin America," Montevideo.
- 61 "Interpretation of Rural Uruguay," Montevideo, Latin American Center for Human Economics.
- 62 Francisco Juliao, "What Are the Peasant Leagues?," translation by Ana Maria Chiesa de Rama, Montevideo, Arca.
- 63 "The Mission of the University," Montevideo, Ediciones Gallo.
- 64 Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, address delivered at the 6th Congress of the Unified Socialist Party of Germany, Montevideo, Novosti.
- 65 Richard Kanetzke, "The State and Society in Hispanoamerica on the Eve of the Revolution," Montevideo, Faculty of Humanities.
- 66 Luciano Labaure Casaravilla, "Monopolies, Trust, Cartels," Montevideo, AMF.
- 67 Carlos Quijano, "Agrarian Reform in Uruguay, Some Aspects," Montevideo, Rio de la Plata.
- 68 Reina Reyes, "The Right to Educate and the Right to Education," essay, Montevideo.
- 69 Alejandro Rovira, "Unlawful Associations in Uruguayan Legislation," Montevideo.
- 70 Augusto and Sebastian Salazar Bondy, "The Peruvian Crossroads," Montevideo, Arca.
- 71 Hector Silvera Anduiza, "Artigas -- Lay Civil Leader of a People in Arms," Montevideo, Lif.
- 72 Jesualdo Sosa, "Vaz Ferreira, Bourgeois Pedagogue," Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado.
- 73 Vivian Trias, "Imperialism and Oil in Uruguay," Montevideo.
- 74 21 September 1963 statement by the Soviet Government, Montevideo, Novosti Press Agency.
- 75 "We Are Strengthening the Unity of the Communist Movements in Honor of the Triumph of Peace and Socialism," Montevideo, Novosti Press Agency.

- 76 1963 "For the Triumph of Creative Marxism-Leninism Against Revisionism in the Path of the World Communist Movement," Montevideo, Novosti Press Agency.
- 77 "For the Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement and the Unity with the Socialist Countries," Montevideo, Novosti Press Agency.
- 78 Program of the CPSU approved by the 22d Congress of the CPSU on 31 October 1961, Montevideo, periodical USSR.
- 79 Eduardo A. Viera, "The Grave National Crisis," Montevideo.
- 80 G. I. Zelenko, "USSR Aid to the Countries of the Orient," Montevideo, Novosti.
- 81 Alberto Zum Felde, "The Historical Process in Uruguay," 4th edition, Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 81a 19 April. The First Congress of the MRO was held, and its resolutions, among other things, structured its central council as follows: Ariel Collazo, Anatolio Palamarchuk, Armando Cuervo, Justo Sasias, Oscar Onetto, Leonor Susana Tuffano de Fratelli, Hector A. Uboldi, Francisco Brizzolara, Ruben Fratelli, Adelaida Fleitas, Selva Parallada, Juan A. Trimboli, Emma Galeano, Luciano Da Silva, Oscar Pineiro, Maria M. Luna de Pereyra, Rivera Sic, Angel Salvador, Guillermo Caballero, Carlos H. Mejias, Cesar Serrato, Facundo Esquera and Elbio Domecq.
- 81b 9 May. FIDEL [Lefist Liberation Front] deputy and MRO leader Ariel Collazo departed for Prague.
- 82 31 July. In the early hours of the morning, persons unknown attacked and stole weapons from the Swiss Gun Club, in Nueva Helvecia, Department of Colonia. Twenty 1934 model Czechoslovak rifles, 5 1908 rifles, 5 bolt action rifles with uncalibrated barrels, 2 22-caliber carbines, a Martini rifle and 3,700 2.000 caliber bullets were taken. The majority of these weapons had been provided on loan by the army.
- 83 1 August. The victims of a highway accident which occurred at the 234 kilometer point on Route 3, Department of Flores, refused aid and transferred objects wrapped in a blanket to an automobile which arrived shortly afterward. Informed of this strange occurrence, a police officer went to the site of the accident and found the bulk of one of the carbines stolen from the Swiss Gun Club.

- 84 1963 30 August. Newspapers denounced communist intervention in the student sector and the role played by the IUF [International Union of Students], reproducing copies of two telegraphs sent to the FEUU by that communist front organization in connection with the arrangements made for the calling of strikes in Brazil and Peru.
- 85 September. The Progressive University Students Group at the Law Students Center issued a manifesto in defense of the university, "which is the only truly free one," "for the integral reform of study methods, incorporating... active teaching" and "against all forms of imperialism, whatever their source," for "a progressive and revolutionary and independent FEUU," against "U.S. imperialism, which is manifested basically through the export of capital, domination of the markets producing raw materials, and more or less open connivance with domestic oligarchies," and against "Soviet imperialism, with routes and methods which are different -- although not substantially -- from the aforementioned kind, entailing the same consequences of exploitation and dependence for the subjugated peoples," "the Cuban revolution represents... the sole victorious example in the whole history of Latin America of a truly emancipating movement, carried out by the people themselves, which succeeded in sweeping away the corrupt structures of a feudal and subjugated society," etc. The manifesto carried the names of more than 100 supporters and members of the administrative and fiscal commissions.
- 86 6 September. Seven persons were arrested in the premises of the UP and the FIDEL in Paysandu and were transferred to Colonia, charged with responsibility for the Swiss Gun Club theft, having acted, according to the police, "inspired by a sector of PS trade union leaders, among them Raul Sendic," for whose arrest a warrant was issued.
- 87 The weapons stolen from the Swiss Gun Club were located on the banks of the Negro ravine, at a site known as "La Balsa," where they were buried, wrapped in nylon. Four persons were tried, including a Paysandu dentist, the owner of the automobile which came to the aid of the accident victims the preceding 1 August.
- 88 9 September. The police reported, in connection with the preceding events, that the interrogations revealed that the group planned to carry out operations of a commando type similar to those undertaken by the Venezuelan terrorists, and that Sendic, who had gone to Brazil, planned to use the weapons stolen in the seizure of sugar refineries with a view to obtaining land for the cane cutters. The report added that Sendic planned the theft without the support of the leaders of the PS.²⁰

- 89 1963 Bank employee Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobro was arrested in Montevideo and released the following day,
- 90 29 November. Carlos Maggi, "Uruguay and Its People," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 90a 6 December. With foreign delegations present, the UJC inaugurated the plenary sessions of its Third National Congress. On the agenda was a report by secretary general, Samuel Wainstein.
- 91 24 December. Some 20 persons identifying themselves as members of a "Jose Artigas youth command," a number of them carrying weapons, stole a truck belonging to the Manzanares, S.A. firm which was carrying chickens and turkeys for the Christmas holiday, which they distributed in the Aparicio Saravia quarter in Montevideo.
- 92 1964 Alvar Alsterdad, et al., "Evidence Concerning the Jews in the USSR," Montevideo, Nuestra Tiempo.
- 93 Contribution to an annotated bibliography on the history of ideas in America, Montevideo, Faculty of Humanities and Sciences.
- 94 Anibal Luis Barbagelato, "Governments of Force," Montevideo, CED.
- 95 Jesus Bentancourt Diaz, Felipe Novoa, Ruben Omar Cecilli, Alberto Soriano, Eduardo Nicolazzo Zaro, Luis A. Fayol, Pablo A. Pampinella, and Juan Gentile, "Romania Seen at Close Range," Montevideo, Editorial Ejido.
- 96 Conference on ecumenical policy and practice for Christian Way Movements, report, Montevideo,²¹
- 97 Carlos Frick Davies, "What Kind of Agrarian Reform? Progressive and Regressive Reform," Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramos, S.A.
- 98 Alfredo Gadino, "The Life of the Hero Jose Artigas, Narrated for Children," Montevideo, Aula.
- 99 Tulio Halperin Donghi, "Impasse for Argentina," Montevideo, Arca.
- 100 Peter Howard, "Where Is America Going?", foreword by Cardinal Richard Cushing, translation by Omar Ibargoyen Paiva, Montevideo, Mosca Brothers.
- 101 Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, answer to questions from the editors of the periodicals GHANIAN TIMES, ALGER REPUBLICAIN, PEUPLE, BATATAUNG, Montevideo, Novosti.

- 102 1964 Young Men's Christian Association, Christian Lay and Ecumenical Movement, South American Conference of Young Men's Christian Association. Program and Leadership Council, Montevideo, Mundo Nuevo.²²
- 103 Ives Lacoste, "Bibliographical Introduction to Development," Montevideo.
- 104 A. L. Machado Neto, "Ideologies and Development," Montevideo.
- 105 Jose Luis Massera, "Marx-Lenin -- Their Names Will Endure For Centuries," Montevideo, Press Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
- 106 Jose Medina Echavarria, "Sociological Considerations on Economic Development in Latin America," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 107 Hector Miranda, "Instructions for the 13th Year," foreword by Jose Pedro Barran, 3d edition, Montevideo, Ministry of Public Education.
- 108 Earl N. Mittelmann, "Allies for Human Well-Being -- Democratic Socialism and Progressive Democracy," Montevideo, USIS.
- 109 Eliseo Salvador Porta, "Uruguay -- Reality and Agrarian Reform," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 110 Carlos M. Rama, "Religion in Uruguay," Montevideo, Nuestra Tiempo.
- 111 German W. Rama, "Social Groups and Secondary Education," Montevideo, Arca.
- 112 Carlos Real de Azua, "The Impulse and What Curbed It; Three Decades of Batllism and the Roots of the Uruguayan Crisis," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 113 Juan Silva Vila, "Concepts of Artigas," Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado.
- 114 Joint Soviet-Algerian Communique, Moscow, 17 May 1964. Joint statements on the talks between the president of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita S. Khrushchey and the president of the RAU [United Arab Republic], Gamel Abdel Nasser, Cairo, 25 May 1964, Montevideo, Novosti Press Agency.
- 115 15 June 1964 letter from the Central Committee of the CPSU, Montevideo, Novosti.

- 116 1964 Ricardo Zerbino, Alberto Couriel, Danil Astori, and Jose Santias, "Some Links Between Education and Economic and Social Development," Montevideo, Faculty of Sciences.
- 117 1 January: Persons unknown stole 11 Mauser repeater rifles, 1908 model, and 8 bayonets, from the Bella Union Customs Receiver's Office, Department of Artigas,
- 118 11 January. Santicaten, "The Atlantic Ocean at the Corner of the La Plata River," Montevideo, EMECE.
- 118a 26 January. "For Nonintervention and for the Self-Determination of the Peoples." Statement signed by 632 "men and women of culture and various social activities, above any political and philosophical differences," in which they said that "the principle of self-determination is an inviolable right of the people," that "as a result the Cuban people's fundamental right to organize according to the political system they deem best must be recognized," and for which reason: only the most energetic condemnation of any effort to mention, attack or coerce, be it economic, political or military, and any suggestion of a diplomatic link with the government of Cuba, a violation of the principle of nonintervention, is suitable." (EL POPULAR, p 4). The signers of this statement included Leopoldo Agorio, Rodney Arismendi, Leopoldo C. Artuccio, Julia Arevalo, Jorge Andrade Ambrosoni, Hugo R. Alfaro, Pedro Aldrovandi, Mario Arregui, Adolfo Aguirre Gonzalvez, Julio Arizaga, Zulma Amaro, Roberto Ares Pons, Samuel Blixen, Enrique Basanta, Guido Bruneto, Luis C. Benvenuto, Jose Pedro Cardozo, Ariel Collazo, Julio Castro, Andres Cultelli, Victorio Casartelli, Armando Cuervo, Virginia Castro, Domingo Collivaro, Gerardo Cuesta, Yenia Dumnova, Alba Dell'Acqua, Enrique Erro, Francisco Espinola, Carlos Elichirigoity, Luis E. Echave, Roque Faraone, Alfonso Fernandez Cabrelli, Reinaldo Gargano, Alberto Garin, Anhelio Hernandez, Roberto Ibanez, Cristina Lagorio, Jose Luis Massera, Paulino Medeiros, Milton Montenar, Jorge Musto, Juan Carlos Onetti, Juan J. Ormaechea, Juan A. Oddone, Eugenio Petit Munoz, Jaime Perez, Juan Carlos Pla, Eduardo Paysee Gonzalez, Joaquin Pourcallos, Rosario Pietrarroea, Blanca Paris de Oddone, Anatolio Palamarchuk, Olivier Pita Fajardo, Carlos Quijano, Arturo Rodriguez Zorrilla, Enrique Rodriguez, Hector Rodriguez, Angel Rama, Reina Reyes, Mauricio Rosencoff, Ricardo Saxlund, Edmundo Soares Netto, Jorge Saxlund, Alberto Soriano, Julio E. Suarez, Walter Sanseviero, Lucia Sala de Touron, Jorge Setelich, Violeta Setelich, Vivian Trias, Susana Tosar de Musto, Dahd Sfeir, Susana Turianski, Daniel Vidart, Jose Claudio Williman, Ruben Yanez, Alfredo Zitarrosa, etc.

- 118b 1964 4 February. A meeting of leaders of associations of officials in various public departments was held in Montevideo, at which the work done earlier to establish the COFE [State Civil Service Organization Confederation] was crystallized.
- 119 20 February. Alberto Ramon Real, "Political-Ideology and Their So-called Decline," Montevideo, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, CUADERNOS [Notebooks], No 12.
- 120 The second cane cutters march from Artigas to Montevideo, demanding "land to work," was launched.
- 121 30 March. Raul Sendic landed at the Melilla Aerodrome in a small plane which took off from Paysandu, succeeding in avoiding the police check.
- 122 19 April. Persons unknown stole 100 percussion caps and 10 meters of fuse, materials used in drilling to explode gelignite from a resident of Cerro Blanco, Department of Lavalleja.
- 123 20 April. Persons unknown stole five rifles and 6 revolvers of German manufacture and 1000 2-caliber bullets from the Ribel, S.A. firm, in the city of Minas.
- 124 25 April. Persons unknown stole 24 cases containing 540 kilograms of gelignite powder from the National Cement Company, S.A., located in the Pan de Azucar area, Department of Maldonado.
- 125 June. Jorge Benson, "You and the International Communist Fronts," Montevideo, Cona Sur.
- 126 11 June. Three cane cutters, Julio Vique, Nelson Ariel Santana Perez,²³ and Ataliva Castillo Lima,²⁴ attacked the Buccio branch of the Collections Bank, stealing some 500,000 pesos and exchanging fire with the police, who finally subdued them.
- 127 12 July. The daily newspaper EPOCA published a list of members of the "Popular Movement for the Release of the Social Fighters Vicue, Santana and Castillo," which included the following names: Senators Juan Guillermo Silva, Alba Roballo, Luis Hierro Gambardello, Zelmar Michelini, Enrique Rodriguez; Deputies Enrique Erro, Alfredo Massa, Carlos Rodriguez Cal, Antonio U. Hernandez, Jose Luis Massera, Hugo Batalla, Enrique Martinez Moreno, Rodney Arismendi, Ariel Collazo, Aquiles Lanza Sere, Alfredo Lepro; councillor Carlos Elichirigoiti; elder Justo Asiain Marquez and pastor Emilio Castro; elders Martin Brozzone and Juan Carlos Zaffaroni; pastor Carlos del Monte; and Jorge Galeano Munoz.
- 128 2 August. The daily newspaper EL POPULAR published a "Intellectuals' Manifesto Rejecting the Resolution of the Washington Conference

- 128 1964 of the Organization of American States," calling for suspension of relations with Cuba.
- 128a 8 August. At a session of the National Government Council, councillor Gen Oscar D. Gestido told the minister of foreign relations, Alejandro Zorilla de San Martin, on the subject of the Cuban affair: "If it were not that my official duties require it of me, I would not stay here a single minute to listen to you say the things you have promulgated previously on all sides. Your thesis to the effect that the resolution of the foreign ministers conference should be ratified by the security council in order to be valid links and subordinates the system of collective security for America to the dictates of a world council which is dependent on the major powers. This does not seem like the position of an American foreign minister but rather that of a European or a man from Peking." (EL DIA)
- 129 8 September. The National Government Council decided to break off relations with Cuba, by a vote of 6 to 3.²⁵
- 130 9 September. Armed groups threw incendiary bombs into the premises of the National City Bank and the Moore McCormack shipping Company in Montevideo.
- 131 Two vehicles belonging to U.S. diplomatic officials and parked in front of the embassy headquarters were burned.
- 132 Coal tar bombs were exploded at the Coca Cola firm plant.
- 133 10 September. Molotov cocktails went off at the homes of four government council members who voted for the suspension of relations with Cuba.
- 134 An incendiary bomb was thrown into the headquarters of the Embassy of Brazil.
- 135 A bomb exploded in the studios of Radio Carve.
- 136 12 September. Disturbances developed at the Carrasco National Airport when communist supporters arrived to bid farewell to the Cuban diplomat leaving for Havana.
- 137 14 October. A branch of the Collections Bank was attacked and some \$5800 were taken, Julio Angel Marenales Saenz²⁶ and former student at the National School of Fine Arts Oscar Andrade Gimenez were arrested, Automatic sidearms and long barrel weapons were taken from them,

- 138 1964 15 October. The police arrested UTE engineer Jorge Amilcar Manera LLuberas, who supplied the weapons for the robbery described above. The three men arrested stated to the judge that the money stolen was to be used to aid the cane cutters and the residents of the poor quarters in Montevideo,
- 139 Cane cutters leader Washington Rodriguez Belletti was also arrested.²⁷
- 140 8 December. A bomb of high explosive power exploded near the office of the U.S. shipping enterprise Moore McCormack. Those responsible for this attack had daubed the phrase "Yankee pirates" on the front of the building with tar.
- 141 16 December. The Argentine police arrested Raul Sendic, Anocieto Silveira and Ramon Pedrozo in Monte Caseros, a frontier settlement opposite Bella Union, on charges of illegal entry and possession of weapons.
- 142 31 December. "Immediate Release of Raul Sendic! Prevent His Entry Into Uruguay," communique of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyite) of Argentina, Marcha.²⁸
- 143 1965 Sergio Bagu, "The Middle Class in Argentina," Montevideo, Faculty of Humanities.
- 144 "Bases for the First National Development Plant," Commission on Investments and Economic Development, Montevideo.
- 145 Wilfred Burchett, "Second Visit to the Guerrilla Zones in South Vietnam," translation by Alejo Garay, Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 146 "Letters from South Vietnam," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 147 Miguel Angel Cossini Morrison, "Military Justice in the Republic of Uruguay," Montevideo, Military Press.
- 148 Espartaco,²⁹ "Criticism of the Latin American Left," Montevideo, Arca.
- 149 Luis A. Faroppa, "The Economic Development of Uruguay, an Explanatory Effort," Montevideo, CECEA.
- 150 Hector Giorgi, "The New Public Administration, an Organic State Reconstruction Effort," Montevideo, AMF,
- 151 Arnaldo Gomenzora, "Education and Crisis," Montevideo, Graphic Corporation,

- 152 1965 Hector Gros Espiell, "Political Parties in the Uruguayan Constitution," Montevideo, CED.
- 153 Hector Gros Espiell, "Journalism and Law," Montevideo.
- 154 Abraham Guillen, "The Second Spanish Revolution," Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado,
- 155 "The Algiers Letter," Embassy of the Algerian Republic, Montevideo, Graphic Workers Cooperative.
- 156 Seymour Martin Lipset, "University Students and Politics in the Third World," translation by Hector J. Apezechea, Montevideo, Alfa.
- 157 Liu Shao Chi, "How To Be a Good Communist," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 158 Exequiel Martinez Estrada, "My Cuban Experience," Montevideo, Arca.
- 159 Octavio Morato, "The Economy of Uruguay, History of the Crises," Montevideo, Faculty of Humanities.
- 160 J. Normand, "The Struggle for South America; the Ideology of Imperialism," Montevideo, Faculty of Humanities.
- 161 "Socialist Revolution in Guatemala," Montevideo, publication of the Banking Committee for Antiimperialist Struggle.
- 162 Angel Wilfredo Rubio, "Revolution," Montevideo, Cumbre.
- 163 Roberto A. Scalapino, "A Point of View of the Crisis in Vietnam," Montevideo, USIS.
- 164 Aldo E. Solari, "The Third Position in Uruguay, an Essay," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 165 Aldo E. Solari, "Studies on Uruguayan Society," Montevideo, Arca.
- 166 Vivian Trias, "The Dollar Crisis and the U.S. Policy, the War of Gold and Diplomacy," La Paz, El Sol.
- 167 "Uruguay, Country Without Problems, in Crisis," Montevideo, Latin American Political Studies Institute,
- 168 5 January, The daily newspaper EL POPULAR carried editorial comment on the incorruptible attitude of the Ecuadorean communist leader Pedro Saad, who rejected the demand by the Military Junta that he renounce all political activity.

- 169 1965 12 January. Substantial material damage was done by a bomb of high explosive power which exploded at the entrance to the Brazilian Propaganda Center offices, located next to the diplomatic headquarters of that country in Montevideo.
- 170 13 January. The Venezuelan leader of the FLN, Nicolas Sarmiento, visited Montevideo, making a statement to the press on the success achieved in the clandestine struggle in the cities, "the seizure of weapons, military defenses and tools, sabotage of U.S. installations and interests, rescue of civilian and military prisoners and harassment action. The FLN, he added, "uses mass politics, combined with the armed struggle in the cities and the mountains. The guerrilla forces in Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela are threatening the armies."
- 170a 3 February. "Uruguay, Assessment and Prospects," Montevideo, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences.
- 171 29 March. The daily newspaper EPOCA carried a manifesto critical of the government which was circulated in Brazil, and reported that a few days earlier representatives of all the "popular forces in Brazil" had met and decided "to unite together in a revolutionary front, the National Liberation Front," and it urged the people to join that front for the social emancipation struggle.
- 172 April. The third cane cutters march from Artias to Montevideo was launched.
- 173 7 April. The country was totally paralyzed by a general strike. The industrial and transportation sectors also ceased operations. Trade union members forced some businesses which stayed open to close their doors, threatening them with reprisal.
- 174 4 May. Incendiary bombs were thrown at the International Harvester Company firm and the Coca Cola plant, damaging a vehicle parked in front of the headquarters of the latter. The motivation was the events in the Dominican Republic.
- 175 The buildings of the Pan American Airways and General Electric buildings were attacked, as were the offices of the OAS, in Montevideo,
- 176 5 May. Violent student demonstrations occurred in the streets of Montevideo,
- 177 Incendiary bombs were thrown into the General Electric and Colgate Palmolive enterprises, increasing to 8 the total number of firms attacked thus far in protest against the events in Santo Domingo.

- 178 1965 6 May. Explosive artifacts were thrown against the buildings of the All American Cables and Western Telegraph companies.
- 179 27 May. The distribution of Ezequiel Martinez Estrada's book "My Cuban Experience" was banned, provoking angry criticism throughout the leftist press.
- 180 28 May. A ceremony was held at the University of the Republic to condemn the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, at which the speakers included Salvador Ocampo, secretary of the Movement for Solidarity with and Defense of the Cuban Revolution, Leopoldo Agorio, president of the National Committee for preparations for the ceremony, and Jose Luis Massera, FIDEL deputy and PCU leader.
- 181 12 June. The FULNP [United Front of National Liberation Party], operating in Montevideo, exhorted all "patriots of the country to prevent the sending of soldiers to the Dominican Republic."
- 182 14 June. The Women's Committee of the FIDEL held the Ninth Week of Solidarity with Cuban Women and the Revolution, showing films on the activities of women in Cuba.
- 183 19 June. FIDEL council member Carlos Elichirigoity stated that the medicines and foodstuffs sent by the municipality of Montevideo to Santo Domingo were to go "to the constitutional sector, because the only constitutional government boldly, bravely and heroically representing the Dominican people is that of Colonel Caamano."
- 184 29 June. A group of young "progressive" Catholics, headed by Saul Irureta and Juan Meikle, with the support of various priests, took advantage of the Papal Festival held in the main coliseum of Montevideo and attended by the Apostolic Nuncio, Rafael Forni, whom they accused of being "reactionary," to carry out what came to be called the "Solis Theater Mutiny." When the Nuncio was preparing to take the rostrum, some 50 young people began to clap, preventing him from speaking, shouting "Forni out," "Forni out," and singing the religious hymn "In the Midst of the Peoples." This was accompanied by a great hubbub, in the course of which incidents and fights broke out, and they moved off, subsequently daubing the walls of the Nunciature with insulting phrases, etc. This maneuver was designed to bring about the removal of Bishop Antonio Corso, appointed as Full Administrator of the Apostolic See by the Vatican (because of the illness of the aged Archbishop of Montevideo, Cardinal Antonio Maria Barbieri), who had the support of Forni and was known for his firm stand against the increasing Marxist infiltration of the church, and in particular, was regarded as "responsible" for the Episcopal challenge of the

- 184 1965 periodical POLITICA, founded by Juan Pablo Terra, Eduardo Paysee, Gonzalez, and other young UC Catholics who had turned frankly toward Marxism, etc.
- 185 5 July. The Convention of Students at Uruguayan University Centers decided to call a general strike.
- 186 Fifth cane cutters march from Artigas to Montevideo.
- 187 9 July. The MRO defined its political line in favor of armed struggle, and adopted rural guerrilla struggle as its main form, and urban revolt and work within the FFAA as auxiliary force.
- 188 10 July. The windows of the Brazilian Embassy in Montevideo were destroyed by a bomb of high explosive power, and pamphlets signed "National Liberation Movement" were distributed, in which it was stated that this attack was by way of reprisal against the maneuvers being carried out by Brazilian troops on the Uruguayan frontier.
- 189 9 August. At midnight, a bomb destroyed the entrance to the warehouses of the Bayer firm. Those responsible left a statement signed "Tupamaros," bearing the slogans "death to the Yankee murderers in Vietnam," "long live the Viet Cong," and "long live the revolution."
- 190 30 August. A ministerial commission traveled to Bella Union and reported that the fires caused some days earlier on the plantations were deliberately set, and were the result of tensions existing between the SURCA and the UTAA workers.
- 191 The daily newspaper EPOCA published a dispatch from the Peruvian guerrilla command operating in the Andean region signed by Guillermo Labaton.
- 192 14 September. The editions of the daily newspaper EPOCA and EL POPULAR were called in.
- 193 Fourteen employees of the State Insurance Bank were dismissed from their post.
- 194 30 September. A general 48 hour strike was begun by the employees of the state and the bank, demanding 48 percent increase in wages for 1966.
- 195 2 October. The banking workers trade union called for the paralyzation of the government banks, the seizure of labor centers and disobedience to the authorities' orders, in the campaign for wage improvement.

- 196 1965 The daily newspaper EL POPULAR carried the text of the address delivered by the secretary of the Social Studies Office of the Evangelical Church of Uruguay at a ceremony held to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the PCU, Hiber Conteris Sardo,
- 197 7 October. Emergency security measures were decreed because of the paralyzation of the bank.
- 198 13 October. A general strike was called in protest against the state of emergency declared.
- 199 22 October. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "The Apprentice Henchmen," MARCHA.
- 200 24 October. Ariel Collazo, leader of the MRO, set off on a trip to communist China, LA MANANA.
- 201 1 November. The University Committee of the FIDEL held a public meeting attended by representatives of various political sectors to "analyze proposals for total unity of the leftist and progressive forces in the country," at which university students Pedro Massera and Luis Chave, and the first secretary of the PCU, Rodney Arismendi, spoke.
- 202 4 November. The emergency security measures were suspended.
- 203 5 November. Julio Castro, "The Tale of Angelica Plaza," MARCHA.
- 204 Julio Castro, "Torture, Too, Is a Technique -- the Source of the Gangrene," MARCHA.
- 205 11 November. A strike was called by state personnel.
- 206 25 November. A general strike was called by the CNT [National Convention of Workers] in support of the wage increase demand by the government employees. This measure paralyzed trade, industry, urban and interdepartmental transportation, international air traffic, the railroads, education, the press and almost all public offices.
- 207 4 December. The central administrative personnel, implementing the decision of the two trade unions, stopped work at midday and went out into the streets of Montevideo to demonstrate.
- 208 7 December. The emergency security measures were reestablished because of the systematic interruption of basic public services.
- 209 9 December. Two bombs of great explosive power exploded in the Montevideo Chamber of Commerce and at the home of the president

- 209 1965 of the Exporters' Warehouse Trade Union. Fliers signed by the
"Tupamaros" were left behind, charging the bankers and landowners
with responsibility for the economic situation of the country.
- 210 23 December. The emergency security measures were suspended.
- 211 31 December. Sarandy Cabrera, "The Pitch and Toss Game at the
Cuba Conference," MARCHA.³⁰
- 212 1966 Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Latin American Revolutionary Ideology,"
Montevideo, Sandino.
- 213 Abraham Guillen,³¹ "Strategy of Urban Guerrilla Warfare,"
Montevideo, Manuales del Pueblo [Manuals for the People], Signo.
- 214 German Rama, "The Conduct of the Pressure Groups," Montevideo,
Cuadernos [Notebooks] of the Faculty of Law.
- 215 "America Today, the Action of God and Responsibility of Man,"
Latin American Conference on Church and Society, II, Chile,
Montevideo, ISAL [Church and Society for Latin America].
- 216 Juan Jose Arevalo, "The Fabel of the Shark and the Minnows,"
6th edition, Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado.
- 217 Julio Barreiro, "Ideology and Social Changes, an Essay,"
Montevideo, Alfa.
- 218 Max Beer, "General History of Socialism and Social Struggle,"
Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado.
- 219 Oscar Bruschera, "The Traditional Political Parties -- Institutional
Development of Uruguay in the 20th Century," Montevideo, Rio de
la Plata.
- 220 Isaac Ganon, "The Social Structure of Uruguay," Montevideo, As.
- 221 Isaac Ganon, "An Introduction to National Sociology," Montevideo,
CED.
- 222 Lincoln Gordon, "Private Enterprise, Economic Integration and
the Alliance for Progress," Montevideo, USIS.
- 223 Hector Gros Espiell, "Scheme of the Constitutional Development of
Uruguay," Montevideo, Faculty of Law.
- 224 Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Notes on the Cuban Revolutionary War,"
Montevideo, Nativa Libros,

- 225 1966 Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Conditions for Latin American Economic Development," Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado.
- 226 Arapey,³² "Uruguay, Country in Crisis," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 227 Jose Harari, "Atomic Death or Social Change," Montevideo, Humanist Social Studies Center.
- 228 G. Lamborski, "The Soviet Union Between 1959 and 1965, Data and Figures," Montevideo, USSR Review.
- 229 Alcira Legaspi de Arismendi, "Pedagogy and Marxism," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 230 Lin Piao, "Long Live the Triumph of the People's War," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 231 Galo R. Martinez Arona, "Function of the Church in the National Culture," Montevideo, Ap. OCE.
- 232 Nelson Martinez Lopez, "The Workers' Organization and the Industrial Conflict, Their Development in Uruguay," Montevideo, Colombino.
- 233 Eliseo Salvador Porta, "Marxism and Christianity," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 234 Carlos Real de Azua and Jose Vasconcelos, "The Revolution and Its Difficulties," Montevideo, Faculty of Humanities.
- 235 Washington Reyes Abadie, Oscar H. Bruschera and Tabare Melogno, "Artigas -- His Significance in the Revolution and in the Iberoamerican Institutional Process," Montevideo, Ministry of Public Education.
- 236 Washington Reyes Abadie, Oscar H. Bruschera and Tabare Melogno, "The Eastern Shore (Uruguay) -- Prairie, Frontier, Port," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 237 Hector Rodriguez, "Our Trade Unions, 1865-1965," Montevideo, CED.
- 238 Santiago I. Rompani, "Luis Batlle -- Thought and Action," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 239 Aldo E. Solari, Nestor Campiglia, and German Wettstein, "Uruguay in Figures," Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 240 Juan Carlos Suarez, "Against All for the Good of All -- Aspects of Uruguayan Economic Reality," Montevideo.

- 241 1966 Jesualdo Sosa, "The Child and Education in Latin America,"
Montevideo, Teachers' Union,
- 242 "Uruguay -- A Policy of Development," Faculty of Law and
Social Sciences, Montevideo.
- 243 Carlos Alberto Zubillaga Barrero, "Artigas and Human Rights,"
Montevideo, Press and Dissemination Commission of the Uruguayan
Jewish Center, foreword by Alberto Demicheli.
- 244 Paulo R. Schilling,³³ "Brazil for Foreigners," Montevideo,
Dialogo [Dialogue].
- 245 18 January. The interdepartmental transportation workers
announced a strike for an indefinite period if the 85 percent
wage increase demand was not met.
- 246 19 January. The previously announced strike was called.
- 247 21 January. Francisco Moncloa, "Peru -- Year of Frustration,"
MARCHA.
- 248 Carlos Nunez, "Cuba on the Power Level," MARCHA.
- 249 25 January. The private sanatorium and clinic workers went on
strike for an indefinite period in connection with a wage
increase demand.
- 250 February. "Dentists Olivier Pito Fajardo, Indalecio Buno and
Artagnan Salerno Travel to Cuba," ODONTOLOGIA LIBRE [Free
Dentistry], Year 2, No 1. (These were the dean and advisers
of the faculty in this branch, who traveled to Havana on an
invitation from Cuba which was refused by other Uruguayan
professional workers.)
- 251 2 February. State personnel went on strike.
- 252 18 February. Armed seditious activists invaded the comic opera
tent of the FUTI and stole ten Mauser rifles with bayonets and
18 military uniforms lent by the army for the performance of
English author Arnold Wesker's work "Fried Potatoes with
Everything," and left propaganda fliers.
- 253 18 February. Adolfo Gilly, "Response to Fidel Castro," MARCHA.
- 254 Carlos Nunez, "And Now In Which Camp Is Cuba?", MARCHA.
- 255 4 March. Adolfo Gilly, "Camilo, the Guerrilla Fighter,"
MARCHA.

- 256 1966 23 March. A South Vietnamese Liberation Front flat was surreptitiously mounted on the U.S. Embassy building in Montevideo.
- 257 25 March. MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], "Freedom for Rodriguez Beletti," MARCHA.
- 258 30 March. The uniforms stolen on 18 February were found in the hall of the Victoria Theater, intermingled with other items.
- 259 April. Santicaten, "The Swamp," Montevideo, Panamericana.
- 260 4 April. When questioned by the daily newspaper EPOCA about what three Uruguayans would in his judgment clearly interpret the national reality, Methodist pastor Emilio Enrique Castro Pombo mentioned writer Mario Benedetti, comic actor Roberto Barry, and the editor of the weekly MARCHA, Carlos Quijano.
- 261 13 May. An armed group of seditious activists attacked the Uruguayan branch of the Workers Fund Bank and stole some \$4600. One of the attackers pretended to be a policeman.
- 262 June. Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, "Marxism and Christianity," Montevideo, APOCE.
- 263 17 June. National councillor Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat demanded the renewal of diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, in a collegiate executive meeting.
- 264 11 July. EL POPULAR published the draft General Resolution of the 19th Congress of the PCU.³⁴
- 265 5 August. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Fidel -- New Conditions, New Language," MARCHA.
- 266 13 August. The 19th Congress of the PCU approved the draft General Resolution, comprising an introduction and four chapters.
- 267 18 August. The police found a supply of buried explosives and weapons kept in waterproof covering a few kilometers from Montevideo. Jorge Melgar was arrested.
- 268 2 September. Julio Camarero, "The Cane Cutters in Prison," MARCHA.
- 269 9 September. R, Ferco, "Free the Cane Cutters," MARCHA.
- 270 15 September. Explosive artifacts were thrown at the SADREP broadcasting plant, located on Santos Lugares Road,

- 271 1966 16 September. The CNT [National Convention of Workers] called
a 24-hour general strike halting all activity in the country.
- 272 Alain Labrousse, "Freedom for the Cane Cutters," MARCHA.
- 273 22 September. A university strike was called throughout the
country to demonstrate solidarity with the students in Argentina
and Brazil. The FEUU held a ceremony in "protest against the
situation the Argentine and Brazilian students face" during the
night, on the university esplanade.
- 274 4 October. The CNT agreed to establish, as of this date, "a
continuous mass encirclement of the legislative palace," the
trade union organizations set up there permanent assemblies,
obtaining daily information on the debate in both legislative
chambers, and "denouncing the deputies and senators blocking the
demands of the people."
- 275 9 October. An attack involving explosives was made on the home
of Col Mario O. Aguerrondo.
- 276 14 November. Paraguayan citizens in exile in Montevideo denounced
the persecution and torture of their compatriots living in
Brazil who oppose the government of President Alfredo Stroessner.
- 277 15 November. A bomb exploded in front of the home of the under
secretary of the interior.
- 278 17 November. Enrique Iglesias, "Uruguay -- a Proposal for
Change," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 279 22 November. The Paso de la Arena branch of the People's Bank
from which they stole \$7,270.
- 280 27 November. An armed group entered a gun shop and stole 63
weapons of various calibers, 10,000 bullets and 72 flashlights.
By means of an opening they got into the premises adjacent to the
police administration office, and stole four uniforms, one for
an officer, one for a police agent, and two for cadets.
- 281 14 December. A Chevrolet truck parked in front of the home of
its owner at the intersection of Yaguanezes Street and La Rambla,
in Punta Gorda, Montevideo, was stolen.
- 282 15 December, Alberto Methol Ferre, "Uruguay as a Problem,"
Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 283 16 December, Mauricio Gatti, "The Organization of Solidarity,"
MARCHA.

- 284 1966 22 December. A private citizen saw the truck stolen from a friend of his on the 14th of the month on the street and notified the police. At 0700 hours, the police tried to wave it down at Burgues and Bella Vista Street. The startled occupants, who proved to be members of the MLN-T, crashed into a tree, following which there was an intense exchange of fire while they tried to flee on foot across a nearby field. They succeeded except for one who was shot dead in the vehicle, and who proved to be 23-year-old Carlos Flores Alvarez, a contributor to the daily newspaper EPOCA. The rear of the truck had been provided with cement reinforcement and a curtain making it impossible to see into it, but allowing weapons to be fired from it without difficulty. In the truck two machineguns, two Astra pistols and bombs were found and seized.
- 285 At the home of Carlos Flores Alvarez, referred to above, the police seized 3 22-caliber revolvers, 2 6.35-caliber Italian pistols and 3 Berreta pistols, the registry numbers of which had been filed away.
- 286 The investigation of the preceding events led to another property which, when searched, revealed a cellar adapted for target practice and judo classes.
- 287 The pursuit of the investigation launched in connection with the above events led to the search of the so-called "Eduardo Pinela Youth Community" club, where it was found that a cultural and language training center was the cover for a paramilitary training base and meeting premise of the 13 August Peasant Movement, to which the occupants of the stolen truck belonged. An official of the OSE [State Board of Sanitation], an official of the UTE and a hairdresser who served as a judo and karate instructor and whose business served as the meeting headquarters were arrested in the premises.
- 288 In a motor vehicle repair shop, a clandestine press, a set of plans of the Montevideo sewer network, MPR [Popular Revolutionary Movement] pamphlets, works by Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, etc., were seized and a number of persons were arrested.
- 289 24 December. "A Deceitful and Fierce Potboiler of Intelligence and Liaison"³⁵ and Certain Daily Newspapers. Hypocrites who have concealed the attack on the Lerranaga Secondary School. An Obviously Deliberate Campaign to Confuse the Public and Justify Special Repressive Apparatus," EL POPULAR,³⁶
- 290 26 December, The police searched another seditious base serving as a cover for underground members of the MLN-T, and also as a printing establishment for counterfeit documents and propaganda.

- 291 1966 27 December. The preceding discoveries led to a poultry grading establishment in the El Sauce resort, Department of Canelones. Seditious activists Mario Robaina Mendez and Wilson Jose Gonzalez Rodriguez were in the housing premises. In the confused exchange of shots which occurred, police commissioner Antonio Silveira Regalado was killed, Robaina committed suicide, and Gonzalez surrendered. The police seized seditious materials in the premises.
- 292 The police sought warrants for the arrest of seditious activist Julio Marenales Saenz, Jorge Manera Lluveras, Gabino Martin Falero Montes de Oca,³⁷ Tabare Rivero Cedres,³⁸ Heraclio Jesus Rodriguez Recalde, Abraham Guillen Gracia, Omar Obdulio Diaz Calderon, Louna Burke and Maria Elsa Correro Martinez.
- 293 The police transferred eight cane cutters affiliated with the seditious movement from Artigas in a military plane. The judge released them for lack of evidence.
- 294 The police located premises of the seditious organization where 40 rifles and a number of automatic pistols were stolen.
- 295 29 December. Another seditious base in the Malvin sector of Montevideo was searched. It was an apartment located over the bank branch attacked by the cane cutters on 11 June 1964, where Violeta Maria Setelich de Sendic lived, and where weapons, silhouette targets for firing practice and guerrilla warfare manuals were seized.³⁹
- 296 1967 Nestor Campiglio, "Pressure Groups -- the Uruguayan Case," Montevideo, Arca.
- 297 Fidel Castro, "Criticism of the Leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 298 Nelson de la Torre, Julio C. Rodriguez, and Lucia Sala de Touron,⁴⁰ "Artigas -- Land and Revolution," Montevideo, Arca.
- 299 First Conference of the LASO [Latin American Solidarity Organization], Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 300 Samuel Lichtensztein and Alberto Couriel, "The IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the National Economic Crisis," Montevideo.
- 301 Vivian Trias, "Imperialism and Geopolitics in Latin America," Montevideo, CISA.
- 302 Rene Zavaleta Mercado, "Bolivia -- Development of the National Conscience," Montevideo, Dialogo.

- 303 1967 "CNT. Statement of Principles. Program and Statutes,"
Law Students Center, Trade Union Library, Montevideo, Graphic
Workshops of the Community of the South.
- 304 "Salvador Allende, Punta del Este, The New Strategy of Imperial-
ism," Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 305 Roberto Ares Pons, "Uruguay -- Province or Nation?", Montevideo,
Nuevo Mundo.
- 306 Julio Barreiro, "Marx: Man and Society," Essays, Montevideo,
Alfa.
- 307 Benedetti, Mario, "The Country of the Wisp of Straw," Montevideo,
Arca.
- 308 Agustin Beraza, "The People United and Armed," Montevideo,
Banda Oriental.
- 309 Matilde Bianchi de Legido, "To Sing of Che Guevara," Montevideo.
- 310 P. Bigo, "Toward a New Humanism," Montevideo, MIED.
- 311 "Pastoral Letter for Advent from the Apostolic Administrator
of Montevideo, Monsignor Carlos Parteli and the Representatives
of His Presbytery to the Archdiocesan Community," Montevideo,
IEDO.
- 312 J. Cetrulo, "From the Animation of the Temporal Aspect to an
Analysis of the Situation," Montevideo, MIED.
- 313 D. E. Chesnokov, "Historical Materialism," Montevideo, Pueblos
Unidos.
- 314 "Chile: The Crisis in the Catholic University," Montevideo, MIEC.
[International Movement of Catholic Students].
- 315 Julio de Santa Ana, "Christianity and Society," Montevideo,
Latin American Council of Church and Society.
- 316 "Cultural Development in the Liberation of Latin America,"
Montevideo, CED, University Culture Foundation.
- 317 Arturo Ferres Terra, "Agrarian Reform -- a False Problem and a
False Solution for Uruguay," Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramos, S.A.
- 318 Enrique Fierro, "Anthology of Hispanoamerican Rebel Poetry,"
Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 319 G. P. Frantsov, "Social Thought," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.

- 320 1967 "Foundations of the Uruguayan Revolution: Its Program, Tactics, Motive Forces, Political Vanguard," Montevideo, Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
- 321 Marcos Gabay and Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Latin American Integration?", Montevideo, Cruz del Sur.
- 322 Eduardo Galeano, "Report: Latin American Lands, Other Cardinal Points and Something More," Montevideo, Tauro.
- 323 Roque Garcia Mullin and others, "Scope and Applications of the New Uruguayan Constitution," Montevideo, Bouzout.
- 324 J. M. Gonzalez Ruiz, "Christianity and the Revolution," Montevideo, MIEC.
- 325 Antonio Miguel Grompone, "The Ideology of Batlle, Seen Through the Writings of Jose Batlle y Ordonez," 3d edition, Montevideo, Arca.
- 326 Juan Carlos Guarnieri, "The Language of the Gaming House -- a Dictionary of the Popular Language of the La Plata River Region," Montevideo, Florensa.
- 327 Abraham Guillen, "Dialectics of Politics -- the Decisive Years of the 20th Century, Crisis, Wars and Revolution," Montevideo, Graphic Workers Cooperative.
- 328 Abraham Guillen, "The Economic Dilemma of Latin America," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 329 Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "In the Sierra Maestra and Other Reports," Montevideo, Taura.
- 330 Alain Joxe, "The Sino-Soviet Conflict in Latin America," Montevideo, Arca.
- 331 R. La Valle, "The People of God and Politics," Montevideo, MIEC.
- 332 Mao Tse-tung, "Quotations from the President," Carmelo, Nativa Libros.
- 333 Aparicio Mendez, "The Strike and the Walkout -- their Nature and Characteristics," Montevideo.
- 334 R. Ozanam de Andrade, "Neocapitalism or Revolution," Montevideo, MIEC.

- 335 1967 Paul VI, "Encyclical Populorum Progressio -- a Letter to the Bishops, Priests, the Faithful and All Men of Good Will on the Development of the Peoples," Montevideo, Don Orione.
- 336 "The University Pastorate," Buga, 1967, Montevideo, MIEC.
- 337 Juan Domingto Peron, "Latin America: Now or Never," Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 338 A. Pozner, "The World in the Eyes of Materialism," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 339 "First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 340 "Problems of Religious Freedom," Essays, La Plata River Christian Studies Center, Montevideo, Tauro.⁴¹
- 341 Paulo R. Schilling, "The Brazil of the Estate Owners," Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 342 Guido Serrano and Walter Perez, "Foreign Private Investment in Latin America and in the Latin American Free Trade Zone in Particular," Montevideo, Faculty of Sciences.
- 343 Aldo E. Solari, "The Postwar Social Development of Uruguay," Essay, Montevideo, Alfa.
- 344 John Street, "Artigas and the Emancipation of Uruguay," foreword by Eugen Millington Drake, introduction by Eugenio Petit Munoz, translation by Rafael Lasala, Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramos, S.A.
- 345 Vladimir Turiansky, "The UTE and the National Crisis," Montevideo, CED.
- 346 3 January. The police established that the seditious activists had made an extensive survey of the Montevideo sewer network, using plans stolen from the OSE.
- 347 4 January. Abraham Guillen Gracia and Omar Obdulio Diaz Calderon, the latter an Argentine in exile in Uruguay and a former activist in the Peronist movement, who had traveled to Cuba a number of times, were arrested.
- 348 5 January. It was announced that warrants had been issued for seditious activists Carlos Hebert Mejias Collzao, Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobor, Hector Amodio Perez,⁴² Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres, Juan Carlos Pena Moran, Edith Morses de Rodriguez, and America Garcia Rodriguez.⁴³

- 349 1967 6 January. A number of Brazilians in exile belonging to the RAN, whom the police presumed to have links with the MLN-T, were arrested.
- 350 12 January. A propaganda center of the MLN-T was discovered, using an advertising agency facade as a cover. Documents for internal use, including one on the strategy of the movement, a report pertaining to military units, a list of their commanders and residences, blanks for target practice and check sheets for the same were seized.
- 351 The Paraguayan National Solidarity Committee issued a statement hailing the first anniversary of the Tricontinental Conference, in which it said that "the fate of the Yankee imperialism is in the balance in Vietnam and in the first free territory in Latin America -- successful socialist Cuba."
- 352 13 January. Hector Rodriguez,⁴⁴ "The Subversion of the Anti-Subversive," MARCHA.
- 353 17 January. Silvio Halperin Burstein, cousin of the Peronist leader of the same name was arrested at the Carrasco National Airport as he arrived in Uruguay. He had in his possession a PAM machinegun, two loaders, 110 9-mm caliber bullets and 50 11.25-caliber bullets. The police investigated his possible affiliation with the MLN-T.
- 354 19 January. A police agent on guard at one of the seditious bases searched a few days earlier was attacked.
- 355 21 January. The courts ordered the trial of Silvio Halperin Burstein.
- 356 23 January. A bomb was thrown into the entrance hall of the U.S. Consulate.
- 357 26 January. The police confirmed the links between the seditious organization and various former militants of the Argentine Tacuara organization -- its former members Jose Luis Nell Tacci⁴⁵ and Jose Baxter Denaro⁴⁶ had been living in Montevideo for some time, and the former was giving military instruction to members of the MLN-T.
- 358 February. MLN-T, "Document No 1," Montevideo.
- 358a March. Raul Iyan Acuna, "Where Are the Uruguayan Trade Unions Going?", Montevideo, Arca.
- 359 16 March. The police identified former medical student Fernando Bassini Campiglia as an MLN-T member.

- 360 1967 31 March. Carlos Mario Gutierrez, "Fidel Castro's Speech,"
MARCHA.
- 361 11 April. A bomb of high explosive power exploded in the entrance
of the Burroughs enterprise, just as the conference of
American Presidents was being held in Punta del Este.
- 362 21 April. The MRO and the Chilean MORENA [National Revolutionary
Movement] met in Montevideo and issued a joint statement propos-
ing the creation of a Latin American liberation political move-
ment, identifying with the suggestions made by Fidel Castro in
his 13 March speech, and noting the appeal of the head of the
Venezuelan FALN [Armed Forces of National Liberation], Douglas
Bravo, for the holding of a continental assembly, etc.
- 363 22 April. MRO, AMERICA LATINA, theoretical review of the
executive committee, No 1, editor in chief, Ariel Collazo,
Montevideo.
- 364 29 April. "Open and Effective Support of the Guerrilla Forces
by the Bolivian Communist Party," EL POPULAR.
- 365 12 May. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Bolivia -- Another Form of
Guerrilla Warfare," MARCHA.
- 366 19 May. Ted Cordova Claure, "A Vietnam in Bolivia?", MARCHA.
- 367 June. Alejandro Rovira, "The Uruguayan Constitution in 1966,"
Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 368 June. "Documents of the Cuban Revolution," Montevideo, Nativa
Libros.
- 369 June. "Vietnam," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA [Marcha Notebook],
No 2, Montevideo.
- 370 9 June. "The Uruguayan Left and the Hour of Latin America,"
EL POPULAR, Friday review,
- 371 10 June. Jose Manuel Guijano,⁴⁷ "Debray and the Venezuelan
Revolution," MARCHA,
- 372 17 June. "The Guatemalan Truth," MARCHA,
- 373 July. "Cuba," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 3, Montevideo.
- 374 July. "The Encyclical for a New Time," foreword by Presbyter
Arnaldo Spadaccino, Montevideo, Dialogo.

- 375 1967 July. MRO, AMERICA LATINA, No 2, Montevideo, Graphic Corporation.
- 376 14 July. Argentine terrorist Jose Luis Nell Tacci was discovered at the home of Leonel Raul Martinez Platero. The Argentine authorities asked for his extradition in connection with a bank robbery in Buenos Aires.
- 377 14 July. The executive branch sent the legislature a draft law establishing norms for the control of abuses of economic power.
- 378 19 July. The executive branch created a special commission for the investigation and control of illegal socio-economic practices, made up of the ministers of the interior, national defense, economy and finance and industry and labor.
- 379 25 July. The executive branch sent the legislature a draft law concerning the investigation and repression of illegal socio-economic acts, involving the establishment of new penal norms.
- 380 28 July. Carlos Nunez, "The Hour of Definition," MARCHA.
- 381 August. MRO, AMERICA LATINA (Special Supplement), executive committee, Montevideo, Graphic Corporation.
- 382 August. "Uruguay, the Roots of Independence," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 4, Montevideo.
- 383 5 August. "Terror in Guatemala," MARCHA.
- 384 16 August. The CNT included the Permanent Congress on Trade Union Unity for Latin American Workers, convoked by the Confederation of Trade Union Unity for Workers of Latin America,⁴⁸ to be held shortly in Montevideo, on the agenda to be dealt with by the National Representative Board.
- 385 18 August. Vivian Trias, "Rebuilding in a Revolutionary Way -- Climatic Calamities and Economic Structure," El Sol.
- 386 "The Guerrilla Forces in Latin America," EL POPULAR.⁴⁹
- 387 19 August. Priest Juan Carlos Zaffaroni gave a lecture at the MRO headquarters in which he set forth his ideas in favor of violence and guerrilla warfare.
- 388 22 August. The executive branch prohibited the meeting which the Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity for Workers in Latin America planned to hold in Montevideo, organized by the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions], with the support of the PCU.

- 389 1967 23 August. The CNT appealed to the executive branch for a review of the preceding decision.
- 390 24 August. Deputies Hugo Batalla, Sergio Previtali Roballo, Raul A. Silva and Nobile E. Pereiro Caresse submitted a memorandum to the Chamber of Representatives asking the legislative body "to make known to the executive branch its hope that the decisions adopted concerning the Congress on Latin American Trade Union Unity be revised, and that it be allowed to function in our country."
- 391 26 August. Ted Cordova-Claure, "Regis Debray and the Rebellion in Bolivia," MARCHA.
- 392 The daily newspaper EPOCA praised the work of priest Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, who "has taken up the banner of Camilo Torres."
- 393 26 August. The PCU delegates who attended the LASO Conference in Havana returned from Cuba.
- 394 29 August. Senator Abraham Francisco Rodriguez Camusso submitted a request for information to the executive branch on the decree prohibiting the planned meeting of the Permanent Congress on Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers.
- 395 September. "War and Revolution in the La Plata Basin," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 5, Montevideo.
- 396 6 September. The Ministry of the Interior and Foreign Affairs responded to Senator Abraham Francisco Rodriguez Camusso's request for information on the justification for the executive branch prohibition of the meeting of the Permanent Congress on Trade Union Unity for Latin American Workers.
- 397 14 September. The MLN-T committed an attack on the installations of the Radio Carve broadcasting station.
- 398 22 September. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Schism in Venezuela -- A Communist Party Abandons the Revolution," MARCHA.
- 399 October. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Unpublished Letters," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 400 5 October. EL POPULAR urged attendance at the ceremony to be held at the Penarol Palace in homage to the 47th anniversary of the founding of the PCU, the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution, and solidarity with Cuba and Vietnam, and announced that a delegation from the CPSU would attend, including Piotr Fedoseyev, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, head of the delegation, and Alexandr A. Sapugi, Yuri Milonov, Vasili V. Egorov and Vladimir E. Tijmeniev.

- 401 1967 7 October. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "A Guerrilla Fighter Speaks of His Task," MARCHA.
- 402 14 October. Ted Cordova-Claire, "Haiti -- Between a Family Dispute and Intervention," MARCHA.
- 402a 24 October. Eduardo Galeano, "Guatemala, Key to Latin America," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 403 November. "Che Guevara, the Theoretician and the Combatant (An Anthology of His Writings and Speeches)," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 7, Montevideo.
- 404 24 November. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "A Priest Goes Underground," MARCHA.
- 405 Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "The Duty of an Honorable Man," MARCHA.
- 406 29 November. An exchange of shots occurred between a police patrol and MLN-T members in a cabana at the El Pinar resort, Department of Canelones. A police official and a seditious activist were wounded. The seditious group fled. In the cabana three army bayonets, 45 caliber bullets and subversive literature were seized.
- 407 30 November. The police announced that seditious activist Hector Amodio Perez, Ismael Fernandez Massini, Nelly J. Panzera and Luis Efrain Martinez, or Eleuterio Fernandez Huidabro, had been identified as participants in the preceding exchange of shots.
- 408 December. "The Church Today -- Mater et Magistra -- Pacem in Terris -- Gaudium et Spes -- Populorum Progressio -- Pastoral Letter for Advent," prologue by Hector Borrat and epilogue by Juan Luis Segundo, S. J., CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 8, Montevideo.
- 409 1 December. Carlos Parteli and others, "Pastoral Letter for Advent."
- 410 UTAA, "The Struggle Continues," MARCHA.
- 411 7 December. In the belief that the signatures were authentic, the daily newspaper EPOCA published an open letter addressed by the MLN-T to the police agents who participated in the exchange of fire on 29 November.⁵⁰
- 412 Hector Borrat, "We Priests," Pastoral Letter for Advent, MARCHA.
- 412a Eduardo Galeano, "The Bright Memory of Camilo Torres," MARCHA.

- 413 1967 8 December. Ernesto Guevara, "Banks, Credit and Socialism," EL SOL.
- 414 9 December. The Camilo Torres Revolutionary Movement, a party of the FIDEL, was established, the main leaders including Carlos M. Britos Huertas, Hilario Luis Pereira, Ramon Iglesias, etc.
- 415 11 December. During the early morning hours, various buses of the Montevideo CUTCSA [Uruguayan Bus Company, Inc] enterprise were attacked, in connection with the increase in picket prices.⁵¹
- 416 12 December. The executive branch dissolved the PS, the FAU [Uruguayan Anarchist Federation], the MRO, the MAPU, the MIR, and the EPOCA Independents Group, united ideologically and in their means of action by an agreement to work toward the destruction of the institutional system by means of armed struggle, and the daily newspaper EPOCA and the weekly EL SOL, in which that agreement was published, were shut down.
- 417 14 December. The Revolutionary Christian Group of the Unitary Popular Movement, a part of the FIDEL, was established, the leaders including Julio Torres, Hugo D'Mattias, Ernesto Signorelli, etc.
- 418 24 December. Eduardo Paysee Gonzalez, "The Violent Christians," MARCHA.
- 419 28 December. Priest Juan Carlos Zaffaroni Zubieta departed for Prague, from which city he traveled to Havana.
- 420 31 December. The daily newspaper EL POPULAR published a salute to Bishop Parteli in connection with the sympathy his pastoral letter for advent had aroused in communist and pro-communist circles.
- 421 1968 Hugo Achugar, "The Collapse," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 422 Roberto Ares Pons, "The Uruguayan Intelligentsia and Other Essays," Montevideo, Banda Oriental,
- 423 Julio Arevalo, "Women in the German Democratic Republic Are Building Socialism," Montevideo, Letras.
- 424 Rodney Arismendi, "Talking with Youth -- Some Subjects Under Discussion Concerning Our Revolution," Montevideo, Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
- 425 Carlos Banales and Enrique Jara, "The Student Rebellion," Montevideo, Arca.

- 426 1968 Julio Barreiro, "The Crisis in Authority," Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO.
- 427 Anibal Barrios Pintos, "Artigas -- The Land, Man, Revelation and Destiny," Montevideo, Minas.
- 428 Sarandy Cabrera, "Flags and Other Fires," Montevideo, Tauro.
- 429 Juan Carlos Carrasco, "Family Crisis," Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO.
- 430 Raul Castro Ruz, "Raul Castro Report on Why Anibal Escalante and Other Former Leaders of the Cuban Communist Party Are in Prison," Montevideo, Documentos Latinoamericanos.
- 431 Ricardo Cetrulo, "Crisis of Values -- the End of an Epoch," Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO.
- 432 Ariel Collazo, "The LASO -- The Revolutionary Path of the Workers," foreword by Cesar Seoane, Montevideo, Lys. Cerro Cora.
- 433 Edison Condins, "The Strip Tease of a Government -- 1967, the Year of the Big Seven."
- 434 Hiber Conteris, Gley Eyherabide, Mario C. Fernandez, Eduardo H. Galaeno, Jorge Musto, Jorge Onetti, Mercedes Rein, Jorge Sclavo, "Montevideo, People and Places," foreword by Angel Rama, Montevideo, Arca.
- 435 "Cuba -- They Exposed the Microfilming," Minas, Hoy.
- 436 "Regis Debray -- Who He Was, Who He Is, His Statement in Camiri," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 437 Luis Alberto de Herrera, "The Charruan Land," Montevideo, Arca.
- 438 Nelson de la Torre, Julio C. Rodriguez and Lucia Sala de Touron, "The Economic and Social Structure of the Plantation," Montevideo.
- 439 "Diary of a Latin American Guerrilla Fighter," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 440 Kurken Didizian, "Julio Cesar Grauert -- Disciple of Batlle," Montevideo, Avanzar.
- 441 Jose Luis Duran, "For a Better Uruguay -- Reform of Its Structures," Montevideo, Letras.
- 442 Roque Faraone, "The Uruguay in Which We Live, 1900-1965," Montevideo, Arca.

- 443 1968 "Brazilian Faith and Reality -- a Statement by 300 Priests,"
Montevideo, MIEC.
- 444 Alfonso Fernandez Cabreli, "Artigas and the Rebel Priests,"
Montevideo, Grito de Asencio.
- 445 Beatriz Garmendia, "Crisis of Formalism -- Democracy as a Myth,"
Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO.
- 446 Andre Gavet, "The Art of Command," Montevideo, Military Center.
- 447 Juan Carlos Guarnieri, "Bases for Agrarian Reform -- the Agrarian
Thinking of Azar, Artigas and Rivadavia," Montevideo, Florensa.
- 448 Ernesto Guevara, "Che's Diary in Bolivia," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 449 Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Socialism and Man in Cuba," Montevideo,
Nativa Libros.
- 450 Ernesto "Che" Guevars, "The Guerrilla War," introduction and
bibliography by Abraham Guillen, Montevideo, Provincias Unidas.
- 451 Carlos Maris Gutierrez, "The Hole in the Wall," Montevideo, Arca.
- 452 Gustavo Gutierrez Merino, "The Pastorate of the Church in Latin
America," Montevideo, Documentary Center, MIEC-JECI.
- 453 Julio Herrera Vargas, "How the National Crisis Is Being Aggravated.
X-ray of a Crime -- the 29 April Restitution. Discrediting...
False Rumors. Priests' Letter to the Bishops of Latin America
Meeting in Medellin," Montevideo, Ruben Bookstores.
- 454 Andre Hillion, "Economic Spaces and Their Dynamics," Montevideo,
IEPAL.
- 455 "Student Rebellion in the World," Accion Directa [Direct Action].
- 456 "Introduction to the Teaching of the University Pastorate,"
Montevideo, MIEC.
- 457 Robert Kennedy, "An Answer to the Latin American Revolution,"
Montevideo.
- 458 Silvia Lago de Firvo, "The Last Reason," Montevideo, Arca,
- 459 "The Christian Democracy -- Critical Analyses by Mauricio Duverger
and Others,"⁵² Montevideo, Sandino,

- 460 1968 "Religions in the Current World," Montevideo, University Culture Foundation.
- 461 Paul L. Lehmann, "Ethics in the Christian Context," Montevideo.
- 462 Edition Lissitzky, "Russia," translation by Ilse Kasdorf, Montevideo, Faculty of Architecture.
- 463 "The Rural Slums and Their People -- Tasks, Customs and Tales of Life," Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 464 Eugene Lyons, "50 Years of Soviet Communism," Montevideo, USIS.
- 465 Carlos Maggi, "The Country of the Uruguayans," Montevideo, CEAL.
- 466 Mao Tse-tung, "Quotations on the People's War," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 467 Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 468 Mao Tse-tung, "On Literature and Art," translation by Sarandy Cabrera, Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 469 Karl Marx, "The German Ideology of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels," translation by Wenceslao Roces, Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 470 Enrique Mendez Vives, "Artigas and the Great Fatherland," Montevideo, Tauro.
- 471 "Monica's Security Measures," by Monica,⁵³ Montevideo, Arca.
- 472 International Communist Movement, "Self-Criticism of the Communist Party of Indonesia," Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 473 Juan Antonio Oddone, "Relations Between the University and the Political Regime," Montevideo, CUADERNOS UNIVERSITARIOS.
- 474 Sabas Olaizola, "Education for Democracy," Montevideo.
- 475 Eduardo Paysee Gonzalez, "The Editorials in EXTRA. A Struggle for Freedom of the Press," Montevideo, Politica.
- 476 George Pendle, "Uruguay, the Grandeur and Decadence of the Country Viewed by an Englishman," Montevideo, Arca,
- 477 Jether Pereira Ramalho, "Internal Migration in Latin America," Montevideo, J. L, Church and Society,

- 478 1968 Alberto Perez Perez, "The 1967 Constitution of the Republic of Uruguay," Montevideo, Faculty of Law.
- 479 Alberto Perez Perez, "The Reasoning of the University in Connection with the Petition for the Dismissal of the Central Leadership Council," Montevideo, FCU [Federation of University Centers].
- 480 Antonio Perez Garcia, "Political Crisis and Social Crisis," Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO.
- 481 Washington Reyes Abadie, Oscar Bruschera and Tabare Melogno, "The Artigas Cycle," Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 482 Darcy Ribeiro, "The Latin American University," foreward by Oscar J. Maggiolo, University of the Republic.
- 483 Fernando Salinos, "The Revolutionary Architecture of the Third World," Montevideo, Faculty of Architecture.
- 484 Pablo R. Schilling, "A Filthy Tale -- Foreign Capital in Brazil," Montevideo, Lys.
- 485 Roberto Segre, "The Architecture of the Cuban Revolution," Montevideo, Faculty of Architecture.
- 486 "Should One Follow the Capitalist Path or That of Socialism?", Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 487 K. A. Shwartzman, "An Ethic Without Morality -- a Criticism of Modern Bourgeois Ethical Theory," translation by Lydia Kuper de Velasco, Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 488 Sonia Sosa, Samuel Jusim, and German Wettsteinn, "Paso de las Flores -- the Lives of Six Families in Rural Uruguay," Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 489 Camilo Torres Restrepo, "The Imperative Christian Revolution," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 490 Camilo Torres Restrepo, "Selected Works," Montevideo, Provincias Unidas.
- 491 Vivian Trias, "Economics and Politics in Modern Uruguay," Montevideo, Banda Oriental,
- 492 Dario Ubilla, "Structural Crisis -- the False Awareness," Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO.

- 493 1968 "Uruguay Today," First Cycle of Lectures, Montevideo, Center for Geographic Studies.⁵⁴
- 494 "Life and Culture in the Mass Society," Montevideo, University Culture Foundation.
- 495 Daniel Vidart, "Ideology and Reality in America," Montevideo, University of the Republic.
- 496 Roberto Viola, "Society in Crisis and the New Image of the Church," Montevideo, PERSPECTIVAS DIALOGO.
- 497 Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, "The Priesthood and Revolution in Latin America," Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Provincias Unidas.
- 498 Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, "Three Lectures,"⁵⁵ Montevideo, Provincias Unidas.
- 499 "Oscar Zamora Answers Fidel Castro," Montevideo, MIR.
- 500 January. "From Camilo Torres to Helder Camara -- the Church in Latin America," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 9, Montevideo.
- 501 January. Norberto A. Habegger, "The Church in Colombian History," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 9, Montevideo.
- 502 January. MLN-T, "Second National Convention."
- 503 January. MLN-T, "Document No 2."
- 504 1 January. Five hundred kilograms of gelignite were stolen from and MLN-T propaganda fliers left in an explosives storage facility at the Blanca quarry in Pan de Azucar, Department of Maldonado.
- 505 2 January. "Guatemala -- the Era of the Assassins," MARCHA.
- 506 18 January. A branch of the Union of Banks of Uruguay was attacked and \$450 stolen.
- 507 26 January. Aquilino Santos, "The Eve of Civil War in Guatemala," MARCHA.
- 508 9 February. The weekly periodical IZQUIERDA interviewed Methodist pastor Emilio Castro Pombo, who stated that in his view, Marxists and Christians could very well collaborate in the liberation of Latin America.

- 509 1968 17 February. The fourth march of the Artigas cane cutters, rallied by the UTAA, to Montevideo, was launched,
- 510 March. Maia Neto, "The Political Message of Jesus," translation by Jesualdo, introduction by Julio de Santa Ana, Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 511 13 March. A number of citizens sent a note to the Chamber of Representatives asking it to determine if ground existed for a political trial to remove Deputies Rodney Arismendi and Ariel Collazo, who attended the LASO Conference, from their posts, for the commission of crimes covered by the Penal Code in promoting the advent of a Marxist revolution which would be imposed by force of weapons on all the Latin American peoples, Uruguay included, etc.
- 512 30 March. The daily newspaper EL POPULAR reported on the visit paid to the USSR by a Methodist pastor Emilio Castro Pombo.
- 513 26 April. J. F. Kahn, "Europe -- the Youth Rebels," MARCHA.
- 514 May. MLN-T, "Document No 3," Montevideo.
- 515 10 May. A series of student demonstrations and riots began in Montevideo, using as a pretext refusal to accept the increase in bus fares, including interruptions and blockades of traffic, distribution of subversive proclamations, attacks on banks and other foreign establishments, the burning of buses, seizure of secondary schools, etc.
- 516 A round table in support of the Artigas cane cutters was held on the premises of the Central Temple of the Evangelical Church in Montevideo, under the sponsorship of pastor Yamandu Reye. It was attended by Washington Rodriguez Belletti, the successor to Raul Sendic in the cane cutters movement, and PCU youth leader Guillermo Bodner, among others, etc.
- 517 11 May. Priest Juan Carlos Zaffaroni appeared on the television program "I and a Million," on which he said he was prepared to take up a machinegun to fight beside the revolutionaries, and that armed struggle in Uruguay was a certainty.
- 518 17 May. A. Ciria, "Student Power in the United States," MARCHA.
- 519 20 May, MLN-T, "Circular 3 -- Observed Discretion,"
- 520 24 May. Mauricio Rosencof, "The Amethyst Seeker -- the Rebellion of the Cane Cutters," MARCHA,

- 521 1968 27 May. MLN-T, "Circular 4, on Operation in the Interior."
- 522 31 May. The criminal prosecutor brought suit against priest Juan Carlos Zaffaroni for his statements on TV on the 11th of the month.
- 523 John William Cooke, "The Nell Case -- A Key to the Argentine Political Process," MARCHA.
- 524 L. Mercier, "Cultural Revolution in Paris?", MARCHA.
- 525 3 June. "MLN-T Circular 5, Priests Note Unjust Situation in BP COLOR."
- 526 4 June. "The Uruguayan Excess," EXTRA.⁵⁶
- 527 6 June. The priest Zaffaroni refused to appear before the courts, stating that the courts "in Uruguay are totally perverted," and he further explained that his TV interviewer had supplied the police with a tape of the opinions he expressed before the camera.
- 528 7 June. Mauricio Rosencof, "The Soldiers of Prestes -- the Rebellion of the Cane Cutters," MARCHA.
- 529 8 June. The FEUU held a press conference at which it said among other things that "our objectives now are entirely political... Each university student is an agitator..."
- 530 9 June. The police made a search of the premises at No 1368 Tristan Narvaja Street in Montevideo, surprising ten persons during a meeting, among them Deputy Ariel Collazo and his brother Anibal. Subversive MRO propaganda was seized.
- 531 13 June. Emergency security measures were establish in view of the situation of increasing public disturbance.
- 532 July. AMERICA LATINA, Theoretical review of the MRO, Year 1, No 1, Montevideo (in homage to Ernesto Guevara).
- 532a July. Carlos Nunez, "Chronicle of This World," Montevideo, Tauro.
- 533 Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, "The Priesthood and Revolution in Latin America," Montevideo, Provincias Unidas.
- 534 1 July. A major explosion destroyed the Radio Ariel broadcasting station. Those responsible stole various pieces of equipment for foreign broadcasting and other shortwave apparatus suitable

- 534 1968 for use for jamming radio transmissions and telephone calls.
- 535 The personnel of the UTE, OSE and the ANCAP [National Administration of Fuels, Alcohol and Cement] and retired Armed Forces personnel capable of serving were mobilized and requisitioned by the Ministry of National Defense.
- 536 A general strike was called.
- 537 5 July. Mauricio Rosencof, "Fagundez, the Winnter -- the Rebellion of the Cane Cutters," MARCHA.
- 538 6 July. Student groups destroyed the Pan American Airlines and General Electric Company premises. The police resisted the attackers and six students were wounded.
- 539 20 July. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Two Interpretations of Che Guevara," MARCHA.
- 540 22 July. Two Brazilians, Itapu Mena and Alberto Da Costa Pereira, and an Argentine citizen, were expelled from the country for subversive activities.
- 541 24 July. The personnel of the Central Bank and the Bank of the Republic were mobilized.
- 542 26 July. Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, "Violence and Christians," MARCHA.
- 543 August. "Student Rebellion in the World," Notebooks of a Militant," 1, Montevideo, Accion Directa.
- 544 1 August. A general strike was again called.
- 545 6 August. A political club and the premises of a bank were attacked with explosives.
- 546 7 August. Ulises Pereira Reverbel, president of the board of the UTE, was kidnapped by a seditious group.
- 547 Almost simultaneously, the press received a statement reporting the kidnapping committed by the MLN-T and the reasons for it. The statement carried the inscription "For the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros), Mario Robaina Mendez Command" at the bottom.
- 548 8 August. "Violence or Dialogue," MARCHA.
- 549 Carlos Banales, "Kidnapping and Responsibility, It Affects Us All," MARCHA.

- 550 1968 Carlos Mario Gutierrez, "Kidnapping and Responsibility, a New Style?", MARCHA.
- 551 9 August. The police entered the main building at the university and the premises of the Faculties of Agronomy, Architecture and Medicine and the National Fine Arts Commission.
- 552 11 August. Ulises Pereira Reverbel was set free in the environs of the Batlle y Ordonex Park, suffering from the effects of a strong drug.
- 553 12 August. Student Liber Arce, a member of the UJC, was wounded in a clash between students and the police. He died 2 days later.
- 554 15 August. A large crowd as well as university authorities accompanied the funeral cortege of the dead student to the El Buceo Cemetery.
- 555 Some thousands of students marched along 18 July Avenue at about 2100 hours, without encountering police opposition. They broke windows and committed other excesses arousing general indignation.
- 556 The daily newspaper EL POPULAR reported that the Archbishop of Montevideo, Carlos Parteli, the vicar general of the diocese of Montevideo, Heroldo Ponce de Lon, and the secretary-chancellor, Raul Sastre, attended the wake for the student Liber Arce.
- 557 Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Pereira Reverbel -- the Expert," MARCHA.
- 558 21 August. The weekly MARCHA was shut down for the span of three issues.
- 559 22 August. Journalist Gutemberg Charquera Uran⁵⁷ was arrested for violating the emergency security measures.
- 560 25 August. Pedro Ignacio Dubra Diaz was arrested in connection with a traffic accident, and the police found in his possession a statement of political action by the seditious organization. Taken to the clinical hospital for medical treatment, he escaped.
- 561 September. "Medellin, the New Church," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 17, Montevideo,
- 562 September, MLN-T, "Circular 8, the 'Bishop's' Position with Regard to the Events in Czechoslovakia,"
- 563 10 September. A branch of the Bank of London and South America was attacked and some \$20,000 stolen from it.

564 1968 The police searched a secondary educational institution, ousting a group of students who had taken over the premises and set up barricades.

565 11 September. A branch of the Union of Banks of Uruguay was attacked and some \$7,200 stolen.

566 12 September. Bombs exploded in three bank branches, where those responsible left fliers bearing the anachronism CAP.

567 16 September. Coal tar bombs were thrown into the premises of the Uruguayan-United States Cultural Alliance.

568 18 September. "Espionage -- the CIA and Spanish Residents Reported Implicated," DE FRENTE.⁵⁸

569 20 September. A branch of the Credit Bank was attacked and some \$2500 were stolen.

570 Two students, Hugo de los Santos Recarte and Susana Pintos, both members of the UJC, were killed in a clash with the police in the environs of the university.

571 21 September. The Uruguayan Medical Trade Union issued a statement containing a tendentious version of the incident described.

572 Coal tar bombs were thrown at the home of the Assistant Chief of the Artigas Police.

573 22 September. Teaching and student activities in Montevideo were suspended until 15 October.

574 24 September. Bombs exploded in a business and a private home in Montevideo.

575 25 September. Incendiary bombs were thrown at the homes of Army Gen Mario O. Aguerronda and Lt Col Alberto Balistrino.

576 The personnel of the AMDET [Municipal Transport Association] were mobilized.

577 30 September. A barricade was set up at La Rambla and Bucareo Street, from which vehicles and passers-by were attacked, causing a major disturbance.

578 October. "The MLN-T, the Tupamaros and the Student Movement," Montevideo.⁵⁹

579 MRO, "...And Uruguay was no Exception," Montevideo, Graphic Corporation.

- 580 1968 Jose Pampin, "Present, Immortal Commander!", Montevideo, Ciudadela.
- 581 AMERICA LATINA, MRO POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL REVIEW, Year 1, No 2, Montevideo.
- 582 October. Vicente Rovetta, "China -- the Right to Rebel," Montevideo, Nativa Libros, foreword by Sarandy Cabrera.
- 583 1 October. A branch of the Credit Bank was attacked and some \$700 stolen from it.
- 584 2 October. The Rodo Park branch of the Credit Bank was again attacked and robbed of \$200.
- 585 Coal tar bombs were thrown at the home of the Florida chief of police.
- 586 3 October. The Arroyo Seco branch of the Commercial Bank was attacked and \$12,860 stolen from it.⁶⁰
- 587 4 October. The Malvin branch of the Credit Bank was attacked and some \$1,040 stolen from it.
- 588 Rogelio Garcia Lupi, "The Guerrilla Fighters of Taco Rolo," MARCHA.
- 589 7 October. A branch of the Bank of London and South America was attacked and \$47,200 stolen from it.
- 590 The rector of the University, Oscar Maggiolo, proposed the placing of a bronze plaque in the hall of the central building condemning the violation of autonomy represented by the penetration of the police into university premises. Central Administrative Council members Hermogenes Alvarez, Arturo Carbonell, Hugo Barrachini and student delegate Luis Carriquiry voted for it, with Federico Slinger voting no.
- 591 8 October. Following an exchange of fire, the police arrested three seditious activists holding a meeting in a Kombi vehicle. They were Julio Marenales Saenz,⁶¹ Lonel Raul Martinez Platero,⁶² and Carlos Rodriguez Ducos.⁶³
- 592 9 October. "The Mission of Che Guevara," EXTRA.
- 593 10 October. The police searched the home of photographer Rodriguez Candan and discovered a photographic laboratory equipped for the production of false identity cards. Blank identity card forms taken from police headquarters were seized in the premises.

- 594 1968 11 October. The courts ordered the trial of Marenales Saenz, Martinez Platero and Rodriguez Ducos, releasing other persons arrested in connection with the same operation.
- 595 11 October. A courier for the seditious organization, Fernando Romera Basanta, an agronomy student, was arrested.
- 596 Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "The Tasks of Che Guevara," MARCHA.
- 597 Fraylan M. Lopez Narvaez, "We Have Them, We Have Them," MARCHA.
- 598 Antonio Perez Garcia, "Police Pearls," MARCHA.
- 599 13 October. When a farmhouse burned, a base (Marquetalia) used by the seditious organization as an arsenal and garage for camouflaged vehicles was revealed.
- 600 16 October. The courts tried Jorge Reyes Diaz, student in veterinary medicine, who served as a courier for the seditious organization.
- 601 Circulars 1071 and 1072 of the National Secondary Education Council substantially altered the meaning of Circular No 861 of 1961, replacing police and court charges for the seizure of student premises with the reporting of such occurrences to the council, which would decide "what it deemed necessary," and approving a report form "for probable seizures of secondary student premises," equivalent to "legalizing" these excesses by student protagonists, etc.
- 602 16 October. "Tupamaros -- an Exclusive Report," EXTRA.⁶⁴
- 603 18 October. A branch of the banking association was attacked and some \$23,560 stolen from it.
- 604 Bombs were thrown at the home of the minister of industries and trade and the headquarters of the Stock Exchange and the Mercantile Bank.
- 605 22 October. The daily newspaper EXTRA was shut down, pending a further decision,
- 606 23 October. Shots were fired at the vehicle of police officer Almando Correa Sosa, who succeeded in wounding one of his two attackers,
- 607 24 October. The La Paz branch of the Commercial Bank was attacked and \$13,700 stolen from it,

- 608 1968 25 October. "Torture," MARCHA.
- 609 26 October. The Seventh National Assembly of Secondary Education Teachers passed a resolution stating that "countercourses" (or "free courses" or "social training courses") represented "a plausible form of contact between students and teachers, tending to contribute to the clarification of the satisfaction of needs of a various sort, keenly felt by the young people being educated and which they, in fact, do not regard it as pertinent or possible to deal with within the framework of the regular courses," the offering of which would be guaranteed "to the extent that the principles of autonomy and teaching freedom are fully effective."⁶⁵
- 609a 31 October. Carlos Machado, "Leftwing and Rightwing Forces in Latin America," Montevideo, Patria Grande.
- 610 November. Julio C. da Rosa, "Civilization and Terraphobia -- Notes from City and Countryside," Montevideo, Dialogo.
- 611 1 November. The Goes branch of the Union of Banks of Uruguay was attacked and \$13,316 stolen from it.
- 612 2 November. A group of foreigners who participated in a prohibited meeting was expelled.
- 613 8 November. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Tortured -- a Repugnant Tradition," MARCHA.
- 614 "Torture as a Method," MARCHA.
- 615 10 November. MLN-T, "Circular 9 -- Political Strategy and Total War."
- 616 11 November. The daily newspaper EXTRA was shut down.
- 617 In a robbery, \$13,316 were stolen, but the money was recovered with the arrest of three of the attackers.
- 618 25 November. 225 kilograms of gelignite were stolen from the explosives warehouse of the enterprise building Route 6 in the Department of Tacuarembó, where fliers with the inscription "MLN-T" were left.
- 619 29 November. In the early morning hours, six persons broke into the treasurer's office at the Carrasco Hotel Casino, from which they stole \$25,000.

- 620 1968 30 November. The home of Maria Teresa Labrocca, linked by the police with the previous day's robbery, was searched, and various sidearms and a Bolivian army rifle, a machinegun, bullets, MLN-T propaganda fliers and one of the bags used to carry the money stolen from the casino were seized.
- 621 December. Vo Nguyen Giap, "Armed Struggle -- Armed Forces," Montevideo Nativa Libros.
- 622 10 December. The Mercantile Bank was attacked and \$1,880 stolen from it.
- 623 After an exchange of fire, seditious activists Gabino Falero Montes de Oca, Pedro Ignacio Dubra Diaz, Corina Devita Decuadra,⁶⁶ Jesus Manuel Rodriguez,⁶⁷ the brothers Liber Fernando de Lucia Grajaes,⁶⁸ and Anibal de Lucia Grajaes,⁶⁹ Ismael Fernando Bassini Campiglia,⁷⁰ and Alvear Victorino Leal were surrounded and arrested by the police in two rural houses near the city of Pando. In the premises two GR machineguns, an PAM machinegun, a signal launching pistols, a 32 caliber revolver, a 38 caliber Smith Wesson revolver, a Mauser rifle, a double barreled shotgun, some 100 bullets of various sorts, falsified identity cards and driver's licenses, hand grenades, time bombs, physiological serums, antibiotics, oxygen tanks, surgical materials, a workshop for repair and camouflage of automobiles, false license plates, a Volkswagen passenger car, seditious literature, instructions on urban guerrilla warfare and handling of weapons and a list of the private vehicles at the Montevideo police headquarters were seized.
- 624 11 December. A branch of the People's bank was attacked and \$13,668 stolen from it.
- 625 12 December. The courts ordered the trial of the seditious activists arrested on the 10th of the month.
- 626 13 December. In the early morning hours, bombs exploded in the branches of the Credit Bank, People's Bank of Uruguay, and Territorial and Spanish Bank, the homes of the minister of live-stock breeding and crop raising, the president of the Credit Bank, the vice president of the Central Bank of Uruguay, the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Uruguay, and the Italian Trade Center.
- 627 18 December. The film "The Battle of Algiers" which was being shown in Montevideo Theaters was withdrawn from circulation by the police.
- 628 20 December. S, Hernandez, "Felisberto and the Tupamaros," MARCHA.

- 629 1968 22 December. Carlos Mario Gutierrez, "The Stables to be Cleaned," MARCHA.
- 630 27 December. Hector Rodriguez, "1968 -- the Year of the Free," MARCHA.
- 631 28 December. Two private homes in Montevideo were attacked, with exchanges of shots between the attackers and the guards at the premises.
- 632 30 December. Two attacks were committed, during which some \$48,000 were stolen.
- 633 A timing mechanism concealed in a box exploded into the air cards bearing seditious propaganda during the holding of the Books and Print Fair on the esplanade of the office of the municipal intendant of Montevideo.
- 634 1969 Institute of Economics, "The Economic Processes in Uruguay - a Contribution to the Study of its Development and Prospects," Montevideo.
- 635 LIBERTAD, news organ of Group 3.
- 636 Antonio Mercader and Jorge de Vera, "The Tupamaros -- Strategy and Action," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 636a Carlos M. Rama, "Uruguay in Crisis," Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado.
- 637 Celia Reyes de Viana, "Communism in Secondary Education, Its Problems and Educational Aspects of Secondary Education," Montevideo.
- 638 Enrique Sobrado, "The Uruguayan Church," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 639 Alberto Suarez and Alberto Altesor, "Organization -- the Base of a Great Party," report produced at the National Organization Conference of the PC, meeting on 17 and 18 January 1969, Montevideo.
- 639a January. Alfredo Errandonea and Daniel Costabile, "Trade Unions and Society in Uruguay," Montevideo, University Culture Library.
- 640 January. Santicaten, "The Peronist Mafia on the La Plata River," Montevideo, Panamericana.
- 641 1 January. In the early hours of the morning, a seditious group entered the premises of the trial court of the first instance, first session, which was concerned with actions against the MLN-T, and stole 41 sidearms which had been seized by the police, leaving behind propaganda fliers signed by the "22 December Command."

- 642 1969 3 January. The police searched the home of Ruben Refreschini in El Cerro, while he was out, seizing 3 machineguns, a short wave army transmitter and 6 kilograms of gelignite.
- 643 An explosion wounded four persons. Fliers like those found on the first of the month were found at the site.
- 644 7 January. A road gang found six cases in the Department of Tacuarembó, containing 130 kilograms of dynamite.
- 645 A truck belonging to a commercial firm was attacked and some \$32,000 were stolen from it.
- 646 The Supreme Court ruled that the documentation pertaining to the seditious organization on hand in the premises of the pertinent court should be placed in the safety deposit box at the BROU [Bank of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay?].
- 647 8 January. Ruben Refreschini presented himself to the police, claiming that the materials seized at his home Friday earlier had been left with him with the understanding that they were smuggled replacement parts for automobiles.
- 648 9 January. A countryhouse rented by Jesus Rodriguez Recalde and Edith Moraes at \$1,000 per month was searched, and it was discovered that it served as an arsenal for the MLN-T. Forty kilograms of gelignite and seditious literature were seized. The inhabitants of the premises were absent.
- 649 11 January. A 16 caliber shotgun, 3 Czechoslovak rifles and various 6.35 loaders were found buried on the banks of the Miguelete Ravine, in a suburban quarter of Montevideo.
- 650 12 January. Manuel Angel Dominguez Rivero, an editorial employee at EL DIARIO, in Montevideo, was arrested while riding a motorcycle carrying MLN-T propaganda materials. He was also in possession of a 22 caliber pistol.
- 651 13 January. An explosive artifact which had failed to go off was found in the Rural Association building.
- 652 13 January. A police search led to the finding of a machinegun stolen from the military government, three sidearms and ammunition of various kinds.
- 653 17 January. The Argentine police asked Uruguay to arrest various attackers of the Escobar branch of the Bank of the Argentine Nation, believed to be affiliated with the MLN-T.

- 654 1969 21 January. Municipal cleaning employees erected barricades and caused considerable disturbance in the streets of Montevideo, leaving a total of 32 injured.
- 655 At the intersection of 18th and Cuareim Streets in Montevideo, on the corner where the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is located, retired C1 Camilo Rodriguez tried to disentangle traffice brought to a halt by the barricades erected by the rebels and was attacked by an enraged crowd. In the scuffle he wounded one of his attackers, municipal employee Arturo Recalde.⁷¹
- 656 24 January. Jose Manuel Guijano and Jorge Abelardo Ramos, "They Are Fighting for Latin American Unity," MARCHA.
- 657 31 January. Malcolm Browne, "A Small Elite Rebel Band Is Harassing the Uruguayan Regime," MARCHA.
- 658 February. German Wehstein, "Living in Revolution (20 Weeks in Cuba)," Montevideo, Signo.
- 659 4 February. Ten cases containing 17 kilograms gelignite were found on a towpath near Montevideo.
- 660 7 February. Seditious activists abandoned the chest containing 100 kilograms of gelignite, the handling of which proved dangerous, in front of the home of an army officer, a technician in the Weaponry and Materiel Department, with a note.
- 661 12 February. Six persons who organized an MLN-T cell and were recruited by Walter Rodriguez Ducos, brother of the seditious activist arrested on 8 October 1968, were arrested in Minas, Department of Lavallejo.
- 662 14 February. A robbery involving about \$2,400 and the accounting ledgers of the Financiera Monty, S.A. credit company was committed, but the crime was not reported to the authorities.
- 663 Maria Esther Gilio, "The Pure of Heart Go to the Sacrifice (with the Mother of Inti Peredo)," MARCHA.
- 664 15 February. While Adolfo Da Costa Silva was transporting an explosive artifact in the jurisdiction of the 24th police section, it exploded, killing him, and causing various injuries to his companion, Jose Luis Blasina.



Subversion in the streets: unruly students and police forces

- 665 1969 16 February. The MLN-T claimed credit for the attack on the Financiera Monty company and stated further that it was studying the accounting books and promised publishers the results.
- 666 17 February. Fliers put out by the seditious organization revealed that the accounting ledgers of the Financiera Monty, S.A. company implicated the minister of livestock breeding and crop raising, Carlos Frick Davies.
- 667 18 February. A group of seditious activists wearing police uniforms attacked the San Rafael Casino in Punta del Este, stealing some \$220,000 from it.
- 668 19 February. Two Argentine tourists recognized Hector Amodio Perez and Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres from photographs in the police rogues gallery as participants in the attack on the San Rafael Casino.
- 669 20 February. The police arrested several employees of the San Rafael Casino.
- 670 21 February. The police revealed that the "inside contact" for the seditious organization in the Financiera Monty, S.A. crime was a former employee of that company, Lucia Topolansky Saavedra.⁷²



Disposition of the corpse of seditious activist
Adolfo Da Costa Silva after the explosion

- 671 1969 25 February. The "Liber Arce Command" of the MLN-T sent to the press a statement and photocopies of some pages of the accounting ledgers of the Financiera Monty, S.A. firm, stating that it was engaging in illegal activity (speculation in foreign currency, smuggling, tax fraud, usurious loans, etc.). It added that on the basis of the uncoded portions of the ledgers, a list of 20 clients of this company involved in these maneuvers had been drawn up, including two ministers of state, a political leader, an UTE director, two former ministers and other well known persons.⁷³ The courts ordered an investigation.
- 672 25 February. Seditious activist Blanca Castagnetto Da Rosa⁷⁴ was arrested at the intersection of 8 October Avenue and Batlle y Ordóñez Boulevard in Montevideo while distributing MLN-T pamphlets.
- 673 28 February. A fire almost totally destroyed the files of the Financiera Monty, S.A. firm. The technical report of the fire company stated that the fire had been "intentionally set."
- 674 The weekly periodical IZQUIERDA, No 53, published the text of the MLN-T communique released on the 25th of the month.
- 675 March. "Letters from Che Guevara," Montevideo, Sandino,
- 676 Carlos Nunez, "Tupamaros -- the Single Vanguard," Montevideo, Provincias Unidas.

- 676a 1969 March. Hoang Van Thai, "The War of the Guerrilla Forces in Vietnam."
- 677 3 March. A high court official in charge of investigating the Financiera Monty, S.A. "affair" received a telephone call informing him that the accounting records taken by the seditious organization from that company had been left at the door of his home.
- 678 4 March. The "Mario Robaina Mendez Command" of the MLN-T issued a communique claiming credit for the robbery of the San Rafael Casino, and offering to return to its employees the portion of the sum stolen representing their tip.
- 679 7 March. For security reasons, the transfer of all these seditious activists in custody to the Punta Carretas Prison was ordered.⁷⁵
- 680 13 March. A bank branch in the city of Fray Bentos, capital of the Department of Rio Negro, was attacked, and some \$60,000 were stolen from it. The police report stated that the attackers included seditious activist Hector Amodio Perez and Ataliva Castillo Lima, a cane cutter involved in the robbery perpetrated on 11 June 1964 at a Montevideo bank branch, and released some months earlier.
- 681 15 March. The emergency security measures, except for those adopted for economic containment purposes, were listed.
- 682 16 March. The courts ordered the trial of San Rafael Casino official Alejandro Grieco Nieves, who made the crime possible for the seditious organization. It was confirmed that Raul Sendic, who lived for more than a month in premises near the casino, participated in the crime.
- 683 17 March. A theatrical director and nine other persons charged with seditious activities were arrested.
- 684 18 March. The Montevideo periodical AL ROJO VIVO published "12 questions" posed to a member of the Tupamaros, pertaining to the "expropriations" carried out by the seditious organization, the fate of these "resources," enlistments in the movement, the regime which should prevail in the country, views on politicians, prospects for the culmination of the movement, situation of the fugitive members, vulnerability of the organization, etc.
- 685 In a ceremony at the Punta Carretas Prison, seditious activists Gabino Falero Montes de Oca and Corina Devita de Cuadra were married.

- 686 1969 20 March. At a rural property located some 35 kilometers from Montevideo, the police arrested seditious activist Gustavo Luis Couchet Insaurrealde, an agronomy student, and Jose Maria Olivera Ferreira, a cane cutter, also seizing a 22 caliber Colt pistol with an adapter allowing its conversion into a 45 caliber weapon, two Colt revolvers, 32 and 38 caliber, bullets, an ax, a machete, three daggers and internal MLN-T documentation.
- 687 21 March. The police searched a Montevideo residence, where they arrested Elvira Lerena Martinez, a librarian, also capturing seditious activist Jorge Manera Lluberas, who happened by the premises.
- 688 21 March. Froylan Lopez Narvaez, "The MLN -- Marriage, and Something More," MARCHA. (A commentary on the marriage performed at the prison on 18 March.)
- 688a 24 March. Julio Herrera Vargas and Javier Sartrillo, "Foreign Penetration in the Uruguayan Economy," Montevideo, Diaco.
- 689 25 March. First session trial judge Daniel Pereyra Manelli tried seditious activists Jorge Manera Lluberas, Luis Maria Dubra Amarelle, Jose E. Surra Spadea, Gustavo Couchet Insaurrealde and Jose Maria Olivera for conspiracy to commit a crime and attack on the constitution on the level of conspiracy.
- 690 April. "The Tupamaros and the Armed Struggle, Report No 1," Montevideo, Provincias Unidas.
- 691 11 April. The Pocitos branch of the Credit Bank, the Goes branch of the Collection Bank, and the Sayago branch of the Banking Association were attacked and the equivalent of \$22,000 stolen from them.
- 692 Maria Esther Gilio, "What Do the Tupamaros Mean to You?", MARCHA.⁷⁶
- 693 12 April. During a search, the police arrested Julio Cesar Listre Cardenas, an employee of the Workers Fund Bank, Betty Larrosa de Listre and Julio Rocatagliata Musto, an employee of the Union of Banks of Uruguay, in connection with their affiliation with seditious activist Jorge Manera Lluberas. The police also seized submachineguns, grenades, explosives and seditious propaganda material.
- 694 18 April. Jorge Onetti, "Ongania and the Tupamaros," MARCHA.
- 695 Jorge Onetti, "Another Coup," MARCHA.

- 696 1969 23 April. The Arroyo Seco branch of the Commercial Bank and the Cordon branch of the La Plata Bank were attacked and robbed of some \$11,000.
- 697 24 April. Seditious activist Jesus Reyes Diaz, a student in veterinary medicine, Corina Devita de Cuadra de Falero, Jose Zaruski, an architectural student, Blanca Castagneto Da Rosa, studying to be a notary, and Fernando Romero Basanta, were parolled.
- 698 26 April. The police discovered an OPR-33 [Popular Revolutionary Movement-33] as a result of an explosion.
- 699 28 April. Some 80 kilograms of machinegun bullets were stolen from the naval dockyards in La Paloma, Department of Rocha.
- 700 30 April. Two incendiary bombs exploded in the headquarters of the COPRIN [Commission on Productivity, Prices and Incomes] and two others were discovered and defused before they exploded in the offices of the Naval Mission of the U.S. Embassy, and one in the headquarters of the Daily Newspaper Association. MLN-T propaganda fliers were found at all these sites.
- 701 May. C. Franqui, "The Book of the 12," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 702 May. Abraham Guillen, "Strategy of Urban Guerrilla Warfare," Montevideo, Liberacion.
- 703 15 May. A seditious command took over the Radio Sarandi transmitting station, interrupting the broadcasting of an international football game being played at the Centennial Stadium, and leaving a recording broadcasting a proclamation by the movement, which was played over six times during a half-hour period.
- 704 22 May. A seditious group robbed the El Cazador gunshop in Montevideo, stealing 18 pistols, 10 22-caliber shotguns, 16 repeating rifles, a number of revolvers of German manufacture, 200 bullets, 2 knives and 6 alarm clocks, which in the view of the police authorities could be used in the production of time bombs.
- 705 22 May. The police arrested the fugitive Jesus Rodriguez Recalde at the intersection of Italia Avenue and Veracierto, seizing from him MLN-T literary materials, an explosive artifact and a 9-mm Luger pistol.
- 706 23 May. "How TIME Views the Tupamaros -- the Robin Hoods of Guerrilla Warfare," MARCHA.

- 707 1969 24 May. The Rio de la Plata Radio frequency, broadcasting music to Montevideo businesses and offices, broadcast an MLN-T proclamation for 5 minutes.
- 708 24 May. An MLN-T base in which Jesus Rodriguez Recalde was hiding was located, and propaganda materials and explosives were seized.
- 709 30 May. Rene Zavaleta Mercado, "Bolivia and Latin America," MARCHA.
- 710 June. Hector Bejar, "Peru in 1965 (Notes on a Guerrilla Experiment)," Montevideo, Sandino,
- 711 Abraham Guillen, "Challenge to the Pentagon -- the Latin American Guerrilla Force," Montevideo, Andes.
- 712 Mauricio Rosencof, "The Rebellion of the Cane Cutters," Montevideo, Aportes.
- 713 5 June. Two banks and an armored truck carrying money were attacked in Montevideo, and a total of some \$54,000 was stolen from them.
- 714 6 June. Jose Ricardo Eliashev, "A Falling Out with a Tupamaro -- How DER SPIEGEL Views the Tupamaros," MARCHA.
- 715 10 June. Twenty-six seditious activists incarcerated in the Punta Carretas Prison began a hunger strike in protest of the checking of their cells by the police, instead of the prison establishment guards. When the question was formally posed by the activists' lawyer, Dr Arturo Dubra Naranjo, the court ruled in favor of the "strikers."
- 716 As a result of the preceding, it developed that seditious activist Jose Manera LLuberas had undertaken to repair the elevator at the penal institution, which did not work, and a pumping system to carry water to the third floor of the building, as well as the building of beds, of which the establishment was in short supply.
- 717 12 June. The seditious activists incarcerated in the Punta Carretas Prison ended the hunger strike begun 48 hours earlier,
- 718 16 June. In a zone in the environs of Montevideo known as "Barrio Los Bulevares," the police discovered an underground construction, about 7 meters by 3, apparently used as a refuge by the seditious activists. Pereira Reverbel thought he recognized it as the place he was held after being kidnapped. Later investigations made it possible to establish that its main tenants were the seditious activists, on the wanted list, Carlos H. Mejias Collazo and America Garcia Rodriguez.

- 719 1969 20 June. The CNT organized trade union strikes of 1 hour's duration in protest against Nelson Rockefeller's visit to Montevideo.
- 720 20 June. A seditious group burned the offices of General Motors Company. The police reported that attacks were committed on 12 other U.S. enterprises that same day,
- 721 21 June. A seditious group broke into a Montevideo radio station and for 10 minutes it broadcast a tape making charges against Rockefeller and the president of the republic, who at that time were having a meeting in Punta del Este.
- 722 21 June. While attempting to place an explosive artifact in the presidential residence on Suarez Avenue, Fernando Gonzalez Guyer and Rolando Ache were arrested. Juan Pablo Maria Schroeder Orozco succeeded in fleeing and went underground.⁷⁷
- 723 23 June. The personnel in the private banks, totaling some 9,000 employees, went on strike.
- 724 24 June. The emergency security measures were reimposed, to prevent strikes and walkouts in the public service sectors.
- 725 The personnel of the General Telecommunications Office, the OSE, UTE and ANCAP were mobilized and placed under jurisdiction for disciplinary action and court martial.
- 726 A seditious group entered the home of Senator Manuel Flores Mora and stole documents.
- 727 26 June. The Ministry of National Defense announced that sabotage had occurred at various substations of the UTE. A number of employees of that administration were arrested.
- 728 The homes of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Labor and Social Security, and criminal prosecutor Fernando Bayardo Bengoa were attacked.
- 729 Six police officers were disarmed and their weapons stolen.
- 729a July. Alfonso Fernandez Cabrelli, "From Batlle to Pacheco Areco," Montevideo, Grito de Asencio,
- 730 July. MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, Bulletin No 1, Montevideo,
- 731 MLN, "Document No 4," Montevideo,
- 732 1 July. The executive branch issued new measures for the repression of illegal socio-economic practices.⁷⁸

- 733 1969 4 July. Probable restrictions on news reporting pertaining to the criminal groups operating in the country were announced.
- 734 7 July. The executive branch ordered the mobilization of the police forces, with the result that they became subject to military codes and laws.
- 735 The news media were prohibited from carrying any report or making any reference to the armed actions, robberies or other activities of the subversives, as well as introducing into the country books, pamphlets or other publications referring to the activities of the MLN-T or any other armed group.
- 736 8 July. Police agent German Garay Dama was killed during an effort by a seditious group to disarm him.
- 737 Four operations similar to the preceding one were carried out almost simultaneously in different parts of Montevideo.
- 738 10 July. The private banks were urged to take immediate steps with a view to reestablishing their services.
- 739 11 July. The editors of the weekly periodical MARCHA, Carlos Maria Gutierrez, Pedro Scaron and Daniel Waksman Schinca, were arrested.
- 740 12 July. A police patrol car was stolen from the workshop at the Montevideo police headquarters by persons unknown.
- 741 The police confiscated the current issue of the weekly MARCHA.
- 742 13 July. Luis Dubra, Jose Surra, Jorge Manera and others, "The Political Prisoners Denounce Abuses," MARCHA.
- 743 14 July. A permit containing a clandestine laboratory for the production of explosives was discovered in Montevideo, and seven persons involved were arrested.
- 744 16 July. The Flag of the 33 Uruguayans, used in 1825 for the liberation crusade under the command of Juan Antonio Lavalleja was stolen from the Juan Antonio Lavalleja Museum.
- 745 The IBM/360 computer in the accounting department of the Commercial Bank, responsible for the accounting for all the branches, was destroyed by a bomb. The damage was estimated at a total of about \$1 million.
- 746 The courts ordered the trial of five of the persons arrested on the 14th of the month: Julio Nelly Armand Ugon Coudin, secondary schoolteacher, Emilia Marta Carlevaro Bottero, a medical and

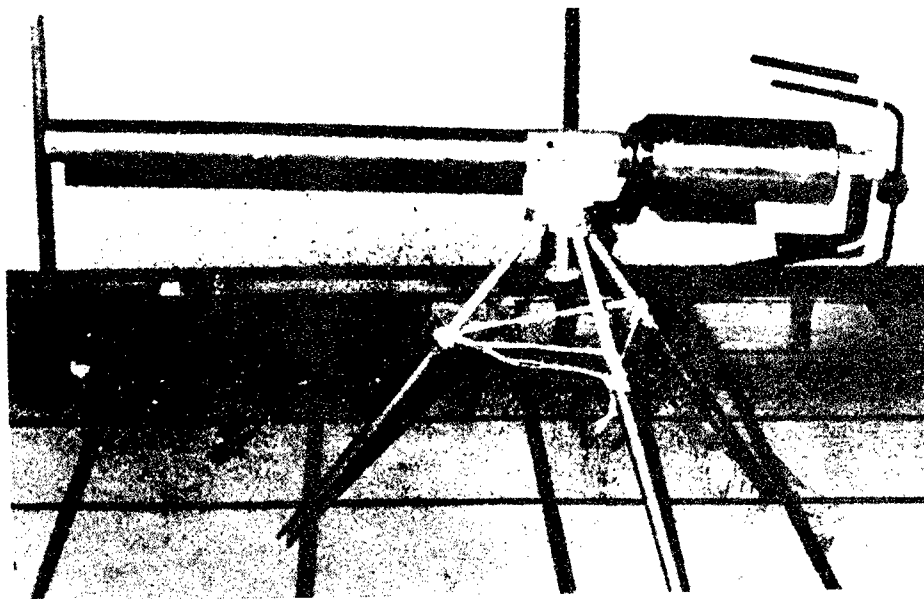
- 746 1969 laboratory practitioner, Myriam Kaydem Montero Stanke,⁷⁹ an architecture student and government employee, Pablo Ricardo Blanco Mazzara, medical student and laboratory assistant at the Faculty of Medicine, and William Allen Witelaw Blanco, a medical student, all of them members of the seditious organization.
- 747 17 July. "Escalation Through Decrees -- Documents for History," MARCHA,⁸⁰
- 748 19 July. Two other persons were arrested while attempting to place a bomb in the presidential residence. They were Ricardo Gustavo Viscardi Capo and Raul Jorge Correa Faggi.
- 749 26 July. The executive branch ordered the mobilization of private banking personnel, who had been striking since the end of June, such that the strikers came under the regime of military orders.
- 750 An MLN-T base on Instrucciones Avenue was searched, and Ataliva Castillo Lima, Cesar Long Damboriano, Roberto Emilio Manes, a Brazilian in exile, Natalio Dergan Jange, and Nicolas Antonio Estevez Fernandez, who was wounded in the clash which occurred, were arrested. The premises contained a laboratory for the production of explosives. As a result of the investigation pursued, the police later arrested Jorge Zabalza Waksman.⁸¹
- 751 27 July. The police searched the homes of Jorge Zabalza Waksman and Raul Bidegain Greissing, where they found MLN-T printed material.
- 752 30 July. Four private residences in Montevideo were attacked and various weapons stolen from them.
- 753 MLN-T fliers said that the clandestine radio news broadcast sporadically thus far would in the future be heard regularly on "Wednesdays and Sundays at 2100 hours, on one of the ends of the frequency dial."
- 754 31 July. The First National City Bank in Montevideo was attacked, and a police agent and one of the attackers were wounded.
- 755 August. MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, Bulletin No 2, "Opening New Fronts of Struggle," Montevideo.
- 756 1 August, Paulo Schilling, "Brazil -- Corruption and Subversion," MARCHA.
- 757 2 August, The executive branch established a new regulation pertaining to the possession and sale of firearms.

- 758 1969 10 August. According to the preceding provisions, the public authorities seized all weapons and ammunition on sale in Montevideo business firms.
- 759 11 August. The police announced discovery of a plan to rescue six seditious activists being held at the central jail of the Montevideo police headquarters.
- 760 14 August. MLN-T, "Ten Points."⁸²
- 761 15 August. Norberto Dominguez Magallanes was arrested while carrying a sack containing MLN-T literature and weapons.
- 762 16 August. As a result of the preceding arrest, an MLN-T hideout was located in an apartment at No 2799 21 September Street, for which a photography business served as a front. Seditious literature was seized.
- 763 19 August. Alejandro Rovira, "Uruguayan Crisis -- Reflections and Suggestions for a Solution," EL DIARIO.
- 764 30 August. Nelson A. Rockefeller, "The Quality of Life in the Americas," report drafted by a report offered to the western hemisphere by a U.S. presidential mission.
- 765 September. MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, "The MLN Report," Bulletin No 3, Montevideo.⁸³
- 766 1 September. Incendiary bombs were used in an attack on the premises of the Esposito, S.A. automobile firm, located at Yaguaron and Soriano Streets.
- 767 3 September. A clandestine radio broadcast by the seditious organization could be heard but not pinpointed.
- 768 6 September. The police arrested Juan Jose Dominguez Diaz, a hairdresser and orchestra musician, and Carlos A. Varela, a taxi driver, on charges of membership in the MLN-T.
- 769 8 September. Three persons connected with the finding of weapons stolen in Brazil, apparently for sale to the seditious organization, in the city of Rivera, on the frontier with that country.
- 770 9 September. A seditious group kidnapped Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro, a banker and member of the board of directors of the SEUSA enterprise, which published the daily newspapers LA MANANA and EL DIARIO, and announced he would be released if the banking personnel dismissed were reinstated,

- 771 1969 11 September. The police announced they had identified four seditious activists directly involved in the kidnapping described above: Peralta, de la Rosa, Schneider and Bidegain.
- 772 11 September. The executive branch sent to the legislature a draft law which would create the permanent population registry.
- 773 15 September. The police announced the arrest of 15 members of a seditious group.
- 774 The CEU [Uruguayan Bishops' Council], meeting from 8 to 15 September, issued a statement "on the critical situation in the country," signed by the Archbishop Coadjutor of Montevideo, Carlos Porteli, and the Auxiliary Bishop, Andres M. Rubio G.
- 775 16 September. The courts ordered the trial of three seditious activists: Ricardo Mario Marengo, a Ministry of Labor and Social Security official, Eduardo Gitli, a student of economic sciences, and Rita Perdomo, a psychology student.
- 776 18 September. The police arrested seditious activists Jessie Arlete Macchi Torres and Luis Alberto Stradet Cabrera as they were distributing MLN-T Bulletin No 3.
- 777 19 September. In a clash with MLN-T members, assistant Montevideo police commissioner Angel Clemente was wounded.
- 778 19 September. Hector Barrat, "The Statement of the Bishops," MARCHA.
- 779 20 September. The police made numerous fruitless searches in an effort to locate kidnap victim Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro.
- 780 21 September. A seditious group attacked the home of Judge Pedro Jose Purpura, stealing a 38 caliber revolver, a 9 mm pistol, a 22 caliber rifle, bullets, four daggers, two tape recorders, a pair of field glasses and money.
- 781 25 September. The police searched premises in which explosives were secretly produced, arresting two persons and seizing, among other materials, a small gun usable as a bazooka, with the power to perforate metal plate up to 30 mm thick.
- 782 26 September. Seditious activists carried out an attack on the home of former South American target champion Cesar Guidet Dotti, who was killed by a bullet, while one seditious activist was wounded.
- 783 Hours later, a similar attack was made upon the home of weapons collector and target champion Luis Bruzzone, from whom 11 shotguns, 2 revolvers and a large quantity of ammunition were stolen.

- 784 1969 30 September. A seditious group attacked the offices of the National Cash Register company and stole some \$4,000.
- 785 Members of the family of kidnap victim Giampietro Pellegrini received letters signed by him.
- 785a October. Jose Jorge Martinez, "The Web of Banking in Uruguay," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 785b 19 October. Pursuant to an anonymous telephone call, the police searched the premises at No 3296 Guayaqui Street, which were empty, and where an explosion occurred. A flier left there warned that "the next time it will be for real."
- 786 October. Santicaten, "1968," Montevideo, Panamericana.
- 787 2 October. The municipal intendant of San Jose and his driver were attacked by four unknown persons while carrying the cash for the payment of wages to municipal personnel, stealing some \$36,000 from them.
- 788 3 October. A bank branch in Montevideo was robbed of some \$24,000.
- 789 "The Pronouncement by the Priests of the Northern Coast," MARCHA.⁸⁴
- 790 "Kidnappings," MARCHA.
- 791 Daniel Waksman Schinca, "Espionage Enjoying Good Health," MARCHA.
- 792 5 October. Seven leaders of the Meat Industry Workers Trade Union began a hunger strike in protest against the dismissals of personnel and the shutdown of various cold storage plants.
- 793 6 October. The courts ordered the trial of seditious activist Manuel Antonio Ramos Filipini, an official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for falsifying passports and purchasing firearms and ammunition for the MLN-T.
- 794 7 October. "Giorgi -- Our Government Has Socialist Principles...", DE FRENTE.
- 795 8 October. At about noon, in an operation in which at least 50 seditious activists participated, they took over the city of Pando in the Department of Canelones, putting the police commissariat, the fire department and the local telephone switchboard out of commission and attacking four banks, from which they stole between \$240,000 and \$400,000, leaving behind propaganda leaflets.⁸⁵ The authorities surrounded the settlement shortly afterward,

795 1969 resulting in a clash near the site known as Toledo Chico, in which various police agents were wounded (including radio patrol Sgt Enrique Fernandez Diaz, who died 11 days later). Three seditious activists were killed (Ricardo Zabalza Waksman, brother of the seditious activist arrested the preceding 26 July, Alfredo Emilio Cultelli, son of the socialist leader Andres Felix Cultelli Chiribao, and Jorge Salerno Schaffini, an agronomy student) and 17 others were captured. They were Jose Alberto Iglesias Pacheco,⁸⁶ Miguel Angel Coitino, Jesus David Melian, Yamandu Jose Rodriguez, Oscar Miguel Puig, Conrado Fernandez Cabeles, Arturo R. Dubra Diaz, German Gonzalez Romay, Jose Manuel Solsora, Arapey Cabrera Suredo, Enrique Omar Osano, Elbio Anibal Cardozo Rodriguez,⁸⁷ Leonel Martinez Platero, Carlos Rodriguez Ducos, Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobro (wanted since 5 January 1967), Olga Iris Barrios Camacho⁸⁸ and Elida Baldomir Coelho;⁸⁹ Carlos Burgueno, who although totally ignorant of the event, was seriously wounded during the attack, died in the city of Pando.



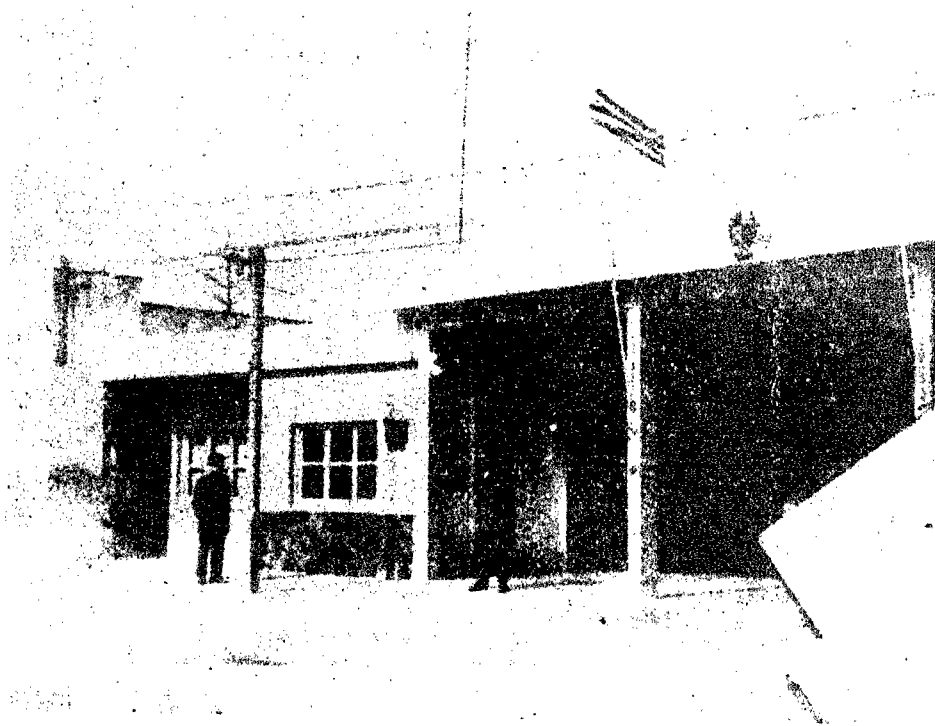
Small cannon usable as a bazooka seized from the seditious activists on 25 September 1969,

796 9 October. "They Held Pando for Half an Hour -- an Action Without Precedent," DE FRENTE.

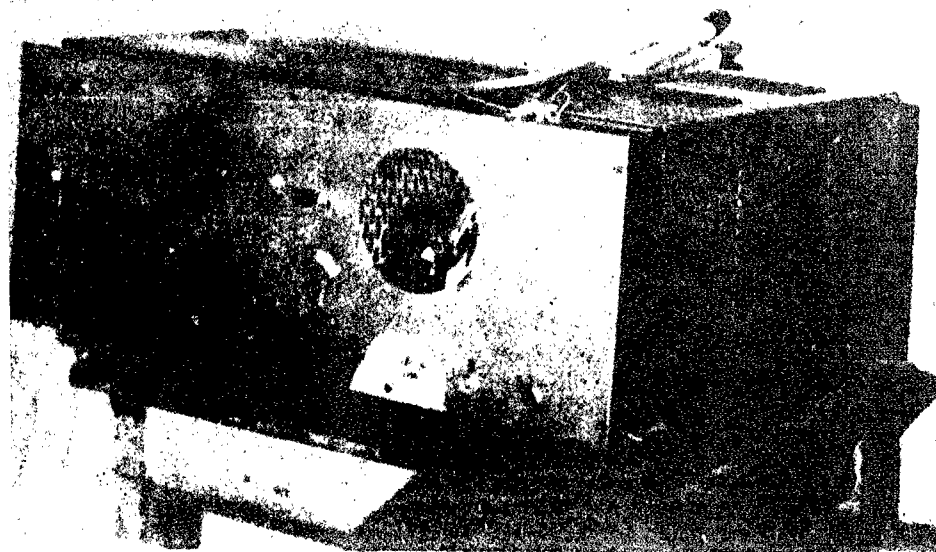
- 797 1969 10 October. On the orders of the judge of the first session juvenile court of the first instance, minor Hector Castagneto Da Rosa, brother of seditious activist Ana Maria and Blanca Castagneto Da Rosa, was confined in the premises of the children's council, Alvarez Cortes Institute, on evidence of his affiliation with the MLN-T.⁹⁰
- 798 "The Guevara, Prophet of the Coming Times," EL ORIENTAL, No 9.
- 799 10 October. Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo, "Guerrilla Forces in Pando," MARCHA.
- 800 11 October. Hugo Miguel Orbea and the Protestant minister Jose Maria Latorre were arrested on charges of having participated in the Pando event.
- 801 University students called a "mourning strike" in protest against the deaths of the seditious activists in the events described.
- 802 A warehouse of the highway office, 92 kilometers from Montevideo, was deliberately burned, causing a loss of 300 tons of asphalt, fuel oil and bituminous materials.
- 803 The police made extensive searches of the environs of the Carrasco National Airport.
- 804 11 October. The daily newspaper DE FRENTE was shut down.
- 805 13 October. A Malvin beach cottage near Montevideo was searched and Hector Clavijo Kirce was arrested. Weapons, ammunition and some 100 bombs in the preparatory stage were seized.
- 806 14 October. The police announced the arrest of the priest Juan Carlos Zaffaroni.
- 807 14 October. The Council of the Faculty of Engineering and Land Surveying resolved by a majority vote that the funeral condolences published in the press by the Council of the Faculty of Agronomy in connection with the Pando incidents involved no exhortation to or support of armed action.
- 808 15 October. A clandestine money changing establishment in Montevideo was attacked and documents and some \$24,000 stolen from it.
- 809 The executive branch revoked the mobilization of banking personnel ordered the preceding 26 July.
- 810 The courts ordered the trial of 16 of the seditious activists captured on 8 October and of five other persons: Juan Carlos Rodriguez,⁹¹ Cesar Miguel Iturralde, Augusto Gregory Souto,⁹² Ruben Hector Garcia Bianchimano⁹³ and Nybia Mariel Gonzalez Bonilla.⁹⁴

[photo not reproduced]

[photo caption] MLN-T threat to the police. The text reads: "To the police--this time was a sham. Next time it will be for real. (Signed) MLN-T."



View of the Pando Commissariat



Radio in the police establishment referred to

- 811 1969 The courts ordered the release of Hugo Miguel Orbea and the priest Zaffaroni.
- 812 17 October. Three banks were attacked and some \$28,000 stolen from them.
- 813 19 October. Carlos Hebert Mejias Collazo, America Garcia Rodriguez, Jaime Machado Ledesma, Jose Felix Dias Berdayer and Elena Candida Quintero Almeida were arrested. They had in their possession documents revealing that there were plans to attack the Workers Fund Bank, the Bank of the Argentine Nation and the OSE. The police announced that it was the first individual listed who planned the theft of the Flag of the 33 Uruguayans the preceding 16 July.
- 814 23 October. The police arrested a priest and several parishioners while they were holding an unauthorized meeting.
- 815 24 October. The police seized an issue of the weekly periodical MARCHA and shut it down for the span of one edition.

- 816 1969 The hall of the El Galpon communist theater in Montevideo, which was performing, with obvious political intent, a gross distortion of the work "Fuenteovejuna," by Lope de Vega, "modernized" by Antonio Larreta and Dervy Vilas.
- 817 27 October. The courts ordered the trial of Luis Orlando Larrosa Montes de Oca and his wife Maria del Rosario Alonso Rimbaud, for the manufacture of explosive bombs.
- 817a November. Andre Gunder Frank, Carlos Real de Azua, Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, "The Sociology of Underdevelopment," Montevideo, Aportes.



Interior of a light truck, showing weapons used by the seditious activists in the incidents in Pando

- 818 November. MLN, "Manual on Interrogation," Montevideo.
- 819 November. "Uruguayan Anarchist Federation Clippings -- Two Years Showing what To Do."
- 820 2 November. An exchange of shots between a police patrol and two persons traveling in a light vehicle resulted in the death of one of the latter, Arturo Cardama Martinez, an employee of

- 820 1969 the UTE, and the wounding of the other, Fermin Chapitel Bottini, an employee of the National Secondary Education Council.
- 821 The executive branch prohibited press organs from using the following words of expression: "cell," "command," "political criminal," "ideological criminal," "subversion," "extremist" and "terrorist."
- 822 3 November. The police discovered a premise in which explosives were being secretly manufactured.
- 823 Twenty sidearms and other materials were stolen from a premise.
- 824 10 November. "Confidential -- What Do the Monty Ledgers Stolen by the Commandos Indicate? Read It Tomorrow in DE FRENTE," DE FRENTE.
- 825 11 November. "Monty -- Incriminating Report by Three Accountants -- 104,000 Words on 160 Pages -- the Group of Enterprises Constitutes a Trust Serving as the Tool of a Hidden Economic Group with Multiple Facets," DE FRENTE.
- 826 12 November. A seditious group stole three automobiles which were used in an attack on the Aguado branch of the Bank of Montevideo, from which some \$6,000 were stolen.
- 827 Police officer Juan Antonio Viera Piazza intervened as seditious priest Indalecio Olivera da Rosa, along with another individual, attempted to obtain a mimeograph and two typewriters from a firm, in exchange for a worthless check. The police officer was killed and Olivera seriously wounded, but both attackers succeeded in fleeing. Later it was learned that Olivera was treated at a clinical hospital for gunshot wound. He was identified as one of those responsible for the death of Viera Piazza and incriminating materials were taken from him. Olivera died the following day, and it was later learned that his companion, who got away, was Raul Bidegain Greissing, carrying false papers.
- 828 The editors of the daily newspapers LA MANANA and EL DIARIO, Carlos Manini Rios and Eugenio Baraffio, paid \$28,000 by check to the Villa Garcia School, as a part of the negotiations for the release of kidnap victim Pellegrini Giampietro. Contact was made with the kidnappers through Senator Zelmar Michelini, affiliated with the latter daily.
- 829 13 November. For the same purpose, the editors of the daily newspapers mentioned issued another check for the same amount of money for the purchase of medicine and equipment from the polyclinic of the National Cold Storage Workers Trade Union.

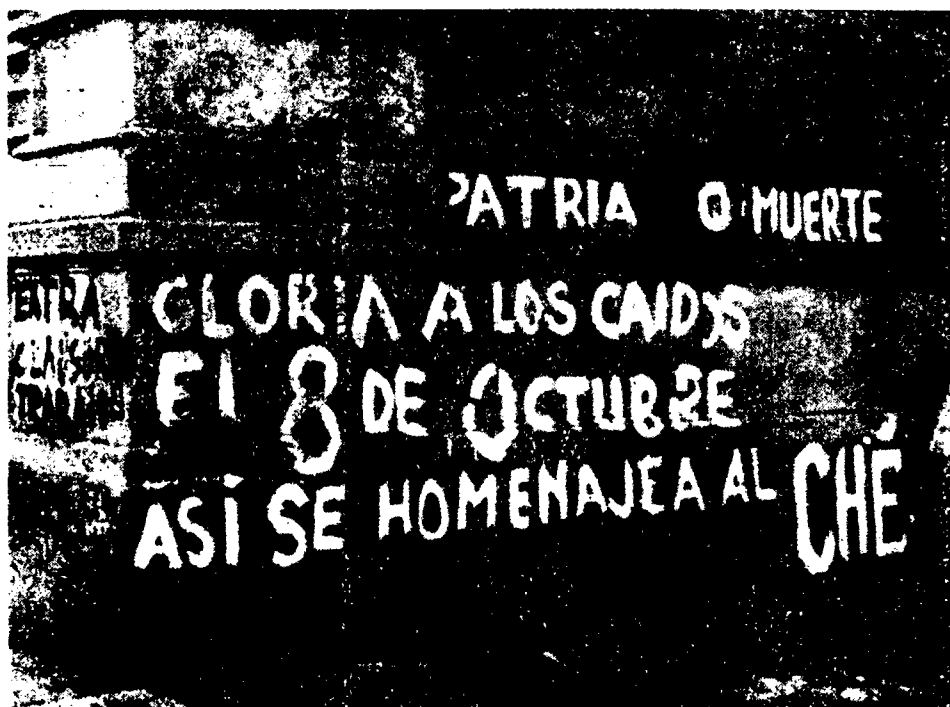
830 1969 14 November. The police began interrogation of Carlos Manini Rios and Eugenio Baraffio concerning the negotiations and donations made to obtain the release of kidnap victim Pellegrini Giampietro.



One of the police vehicles which participated in the Pando event

- 831 Seditious priest Olivera da Rosa died.
- 832 15 November. GM official Carlos Ruben Zembrano Rivero, who took part in the event in Pando and whom the seditious activists held responsible for the death of Jorge Salerno, was shot to death.
- 833 17 November. Attacks were made on other police officers of the GM.
- 834 19 November. The police searched premises where they seized MLN-T documents, including among other things manuals for the production of bombs and explosives.
- 835 A seditious group stole the regulation weapon of a policeman.
- 836 20 November. Seventy-three days after he was kidnapped, Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro was set free.

- 837 1969 21 November. "The Situation of the Political Prisoners,"
MARCHA.
- 838 24 November. A seditious group attacked the Ferretjans firm and stole 20 long barreled weapons and sidearms, telescopic sights, field glasses and other materials.
- 839 25 November. A branch of the People's Bank was attacked and some \$28,000 stolen from it.
- 840 A seditious group obtained some \$104,000 through bad checks.
- 841 26 November. In an exchange of fire with seditious activists at the El Pinar resort in the Department of Canelones, police agent Antonio Maria Fernandez Rodriguez was killed. Marcos Soares Piriz and Dayman Osvaldo Cabrera Sureda were identified as the authors of the incident, and seditious activist Manuel Angel Dominguez Rivero was arrested in the vicinity.
- 842 27 November. Fugitive seditious activist Eduardo Javier Ubillas Hernandez, who participated in the attempt to place an explosive artifact in the presidential residence, and Juan Antonio Ciola Paredes,⁹⁵ were arrested at the El Pinar spa.
- 843 29 November. The police revealed that the priest Indalecio Olivera Da Rosa had rented a house in which, presumably, kidnap victim Pellegrini Giampietro was held.
- 843a December. Nestor Campiglia, "Pressure Groups and the Political Process," Montevideo, Arca.
- 843b December. Richard Koebner, "The Concept of Economic Imperialism," Montevideo, University Culture Foundation.
- 844 1 December. Seminarists Luis Eduardo Sarmandu Sierra and Mario Caceres Martinez, to whom Air Force Technical School Cadet Luis Bossio Gutierrez provided data for a survey of the premises and the arsenal of that military school, were tried.
- 845 2 December. Fugitives Cristina Cabrera Laport de Bidegain and Miriam Raquel Fernandez Marzico de Zabalza were arrested.
- 846 3 December. At the Araminda spa, the premises used as a hideout by the two fugitives mentioned above was located. Hernan Pucurull Saenz da la Pena went underground. In the premises located, the police seized 31 explosive artifacts and an automatic weapon.
- 847 4 December. A branch of the Italo-American Bank was attacked and \$2,000 stolen from it.



Wall at the Faculty of Chemistry and Pharmacy showing inscriptions referring to the events in Pando.

The inscriptions read: "Fatherland or death, glory to those who fell on 8 October. Thus homage is paid to Che Guevara."

- 848 1969 4 December. Bank employee Roberto Romano Dathagay was arrested for participation in the attack on the Aguada branch of the Bank of Montevideo the preceding 12 November and seminarian Luis Ernesto Fernandez was arrested for his part in the espionage involving the Air Force Technical School.
- 849 6 December. The police located a seditious hideout in a wooded site some 27 kilometers from Montevideo. They recovered two automobiles stolen the preceding 12 November and used in the attack on the bank branch committed that day.
- 850 9 December. An attack on the offices of the COETC was frustrated, and a stolen taxi containing two explosive artifacts was found at the site.
- 851 11 December. Air Force Col and weapons collector Armando Muter was seriously wounded during an attack on his home by a seditious group.
- 852 12 December. The police arrested Fernando Staino Puntonet, one of the participants in the kidnapping of Gaetano Pellegrino Giampietro.

- 853 1969 13 December. A laboratory was attacked and 26,000 penicillin ampules stolen.
- 854 The police located a seditious printing establishment, seized a large quantity of propaganda material and arrested one person.
- 855 16 December. Shots were fired at the garage at the office of the president of the republic, without further consequences.
- 856 26 December. A seditious group attacked the French and Italian Bank and stole documents. No money was taken because the attackers could not get into the cash vault.
- 857 27 December. The police searched an MLN-T premise, seizing an information center with maps of cities in the interior of the country and data on police and government cadres.
- 858 29 December. The Commercial Bank was attacked, involving an exchange of shots in which Juan Techera Bobadilla, a private bank guard and former police employee, was killed.
- 859 30 December. Joaquin Andrada, "1969, a Black Year," MARCHA.
- 860 Juan Carlos Carrasco, "Cases for Filing," MARCHA.
- 861 Jose Ricardo Eliashev, "1969 -- We Entered the 'Era of Torture,'" DE FRENTE, special edition.
- 862 Froylan M. Lopez Narvaez, "Those of the Seven Words," MARCHA.
- 863 Andre Gunder Frank, "Lumpenbourgeoisie, Lumpendevelopment," Montevideo.
- 864 MLN, "Supplemental Bulletin -- Message to the Political Prisoners," Montevideo.
- 865 Jose Carlos Mariategui, "Seven Attempts to Interpret Peruvian Reality," Montevideo.
- 866 Alejandro Rovira, "Parliamentary Action," Gadi Graphic Workshop, Florida.⁹⁶
- 867 Guillermo Bernhard, "The Monopoly in the Cold Storage Industry," Montevideo.
- 868 "Torure, Uruguay 1970," Montevideo, National Studies Center, Grito de Asencio.
- 869 Vivian Trias, "Juan Manuel de Rosas," Montevideo.

- 870 1969 Vivian Trias, "The Crisis of the Empire," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 871 1970 1 January. Daniel Falcon Veiga,⁹⁷ a former seminarian, asked for asylum in the Peruvian Embassy in Montevideo, claiming the police were searching for him as a member of the seditious organization.
- 872 2 January. Montevideo police commissioner Juan Maria Lucas was seriously wounded by a bullet fired from a vacant lot.
- 873 3 January. Seditious activist Ibero Gutierrez Gonzalez was tried for association for the purpose of committing a crime.
- 874 9 January. Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro departed for his native land, Italy.
- 875 After a collision between a truck carrying three seditious activists, one of whom was injured, and another vehicle, the activists fled in a taxi, hiding in a woods near Montevideo, where they were arrested by two police agents. Another group of seditious activists present at the site then subdued the policeman, stealing their regulation issue weapons, and rescuing their three colleagues.
- 876 12 January. Following an exchange of shots at a premise in the Carrasco quarter of Montevideo, the police arrested Violeta Maria Setelich de Sendic and her two children, Maria Luisa Adan de Costa and Cesar Lopez, seizing a number of 45 caliber pistols, bombs and documents.
- 877 Enrique Rubio, "The Purpura Case," MARCHA.
- 878 14 January. The police revealed that the documents seized on the 12th of the month showed that the seditious activists intended to attack an air base as well as the Punta Carretas Prison, where more than 100 members of the organization were being held, and to carry out other actions in Montevideo police and court departments. The police also announced that they found in the premises searched in Carrasco, in a laboratory for producing false documents, the plans for the Punta Carretas Prison, the Pando Air Base, and various police commissariats and court facilities in Montevideo.
- 879 The police investigated the fact that a number of the administrative files of the UTE bore the MLN-T emblem.
- 880 15 January. In the early hours of the morning, a seditious group attacked a secondary education institution located some 3 kilometers from Montevideo and stole various chemical products.

- 881 1970 15 January. "A Most Serious Charge -- Judge Purpura Works for the CIA," DE FRENTE.
- 882 16 January. Police investigated possible links between the armed Peronist groups in Argentina and the MLN-T.
- 883 17 January. A house occupied by seditious activist Maria Teresa Labracca Ravellino, Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres and Hector Raul Mendez Fernandez, who succeeded in escaping, was searched. An arsenal and a laboratory for the manufacture of bombs were discovered.
- 884 21 January. The Army Weapons and Materiel Service reported that the MLN-T was mass producing antipersonnel mines.
- 885 23 January. A bank branch in the Pocitos quarter of Montevideo was attacked and \$1,200 taken.
- 886 27 January. The pension fund of the Jockey Club personnel in Montevideo was attacked and \$4,000 stolen from it.
- 887 The court of instruction launched an investigation of alleged illegal transactions by the French and Italian Bank, denounced by the seditious organization.
- 888 29 January. Monsignor Corso accused Parteli and two other bishops of being communists. "Parteli, Mendiharat and Nuti are idiots being used as tools in the service of communism," DE FRENTE.
- 889 30 January. The homes of High State Insurance Bank officials were the targets of bomb attacks by the MLN-T. It was presumed that the motivation was the trade union problems within that institution.
- 890 30 January. Three vehicles which were later used on an unproductive attack on the Bracafe firm were stolen.
- 891 30 January. Carlos Maria Gutierrez, "Report on the Guerrilla War in Bolivia," MARCHA.
- 892 31 January. An MLN-T radio broadcast effected by means of interference with a local station was heard in Montevideo and Canelones, lasting almost an hour.
- 893 1 February. The Central Bank ordered an investigation of alleged illicit activities by the French and Italian Bank.
- 894 An attack on an instant coffee factory was frustrated.

- 895 1970 2 February. The police made a search in the Department of Rocha and found a laboratory for the production of explosives. They seized 150 kilograms of powdered aluminum and two bags of calcareous ammonium.
- 896 2 February. "Dubra: Neither as a Judge Nor as a Director of the Magistrates Association Have I Ever Denounced Dr Purpura," BP COLOR.
- 897 "BP COLOR Invented the Whole Report -- Judge Dubra Has Categorically Denied His Alleged Statements to that Morning Paper," DE FRENTE.
- 898 5 February. A notary's office was attacked and \$2,200 stolen from it.
- 899 Following the identification of the seditious activist occupying the premise searched on the 2d of the month, who proved to be Lemy Jose Fernandez Fernandez, Lucia Topolanski Saavedra, Edith Moraes Alves de Rodriguez and Maria Elsa Garreiro Martinez, the police searched the home of the first mentioned individual at No 1616 Eduardo Acevedo Street, finding it abandoned, apparently in the belief that the cover had been "blown."
- 900 6 February. The Fillberg exchange agency was attacked and robbed of \$2,200.
- 901 "Proof of Torture," MARCHA.
- 902 Ted Cordova-Claure, "Venezuela -- the President Who Got As Far As March," MARCHA.
- 903 Leopoldo Madruga,⁹⁸ "Judges and Purpuras," MARCHA.
- 904 9 February. Persons unknown stole a tape recorder and several revolvers from the departmental criminal court of the first instance in Canelones.
- 905 After an exchange of fire with the police, seditious activists Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres, Ana Maria Castagneto Da Rosa,⁹⁹ Marcos Suarez Pirez and Yanduy Miguel Cabrera Sureda¹⁰⁰ were arrested at the Cuchilla Alta spa. Police agent Alfredo Pallas Cardozo was mortally wounded in the skirmish.
- 906 12 February. The executive branch replaced the intervention councils with directive councils in the secondary education sector and the Labor University.
- 907 13 February. Police agent Alfredo Pallas Cardozo died as a result of the wounds received on the 9th of the month.

- 908 1970 A hide cutting factory was attacked and robbed of \$4,000.
- 909 16 February. The police arrested Hector Juambeltz Rodriguez, on the wanted list, who rented the premises on Caonabo Street where kidnap victim Pellegrini Giampietro was held.
- 910 The Central Directive Council of the University termed the acceptance by engineering professors Enrique Penades and Juan A. Parillo of appointments as interventors in the secondary education sector by the executive branch a serious offense, and expressed the view that an indictment should be drawn up against them.
- 911 17 February. The police searched premises on Javier de Viana Street and seized a quantity of MLN-T literature, as well as a mimeograph machine stolen from the Orbis Mimeograph Company some time previously.
- 912 The courts ordered the trial of the seditious activists arrested on the 9th of the month.
- 913 17 February. The Council of the Faculty of Engineering and Land Surveying approved a motion condemning the intervention decreed by the executive branch on the 12th of the month in the secondary education bodies, invoking the principle of self-government, and rejecting the attitude of the professors in that faculty, engineers Enrique Penades and Juan A. Parrillo, who lent their services as interventors.
- 914 18 February. The executive branch sent to the legislature a draft law pertaining to the statement and control of the assets of public officials ("Crystal Law").
- 915 20 February. In a public letter, deputy Ariel Collazo maintained among other things that "it is necessary to uproot the illusion of presumed electoral triumph and the achievement of power by the people by this means," etc.¹⁰¹
- 916 20 February. Ugo Ulive, "Venezuela, Division and Unity of the Left," MARCHA.
- 917 21 February. The courts ordered Hector Juambeltz Rodriguez tried for crimes of "criminal association," "attack on the constitution on the conspiracy level," "deprivation of freedom," "possession of explosives" and "use of falsified public certificates."
- 918 24 February. The BROU [Bank of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay] branch in the city of Salto was robbed of some \$80,000.

- 919 1970 The Council of the Faculty of Engineering and Land Surveying decided to bring summary proceedings against engineers Enrique Penades and Juan A. Parrillo, for accepting appointments as interventors in secondary education, following the decree of this measure by the executive branch.
- 920 25 February. Members of the FARO [Revolutionary Armed Front of Uruguay] went to the home of the cashier of the CASE [Administrative Commission of Wool Compressing Services] whom they kidnapped, to open the safe of that body for them. After they arrived at the premises, the watchman noted something peculiar and went for help, whereupon the criminals fired weapons and took flight. PGM agents searching the zone arrested Jose Manuel Candamio Vazquez, from whom they seized two 38 caliber revolvers and 15 bullets. He was later identified by the cashier as one of the kidnappers.
- 921 26 February. Police revealed that Raul Bautista Zuloaga Rubino, an official in the Department of Intelligence and Liaison, supplied the seditious organization with important information pertaining to the department. Along with Zuloaga, the police arrested Ramon Vega Ramas and Jersey Oguez Cabral, from whom they took a tank, a long barreled 32 caliber revolver, and a 22 caliber piston. The three admitted membership in the MLN-T [National Liberation Movement--Tupamaros].
- 921a March. Rodney Arismendi, "Lenin, the Revolution and Latin America," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 922 March. Alphonse Max, "The Tupamaros, an Essay on Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America," INTERDOC [International Documentation and Information Center], Montevideo, The Hague, 10 van Stolkweg, The Netherlands.¹⁰²
- 922a March. Roque Faraone, "The Uruguay in Which We Live," Montevideo, Arca.
- 923 March. Revolutionary Penal Code of the MLN-T.
- 924 MLN-T, "To the Police Agents¹⁰³."
- 925 1 March. The courts tried Candamio Vazquez for the crimes of "attack on the constitution on the level of conspiracy," "deprivation of freedom" and "attempted robbery."
- 926 2 March. A police van was attacked and the weapons its occupants were carrying were stolen.

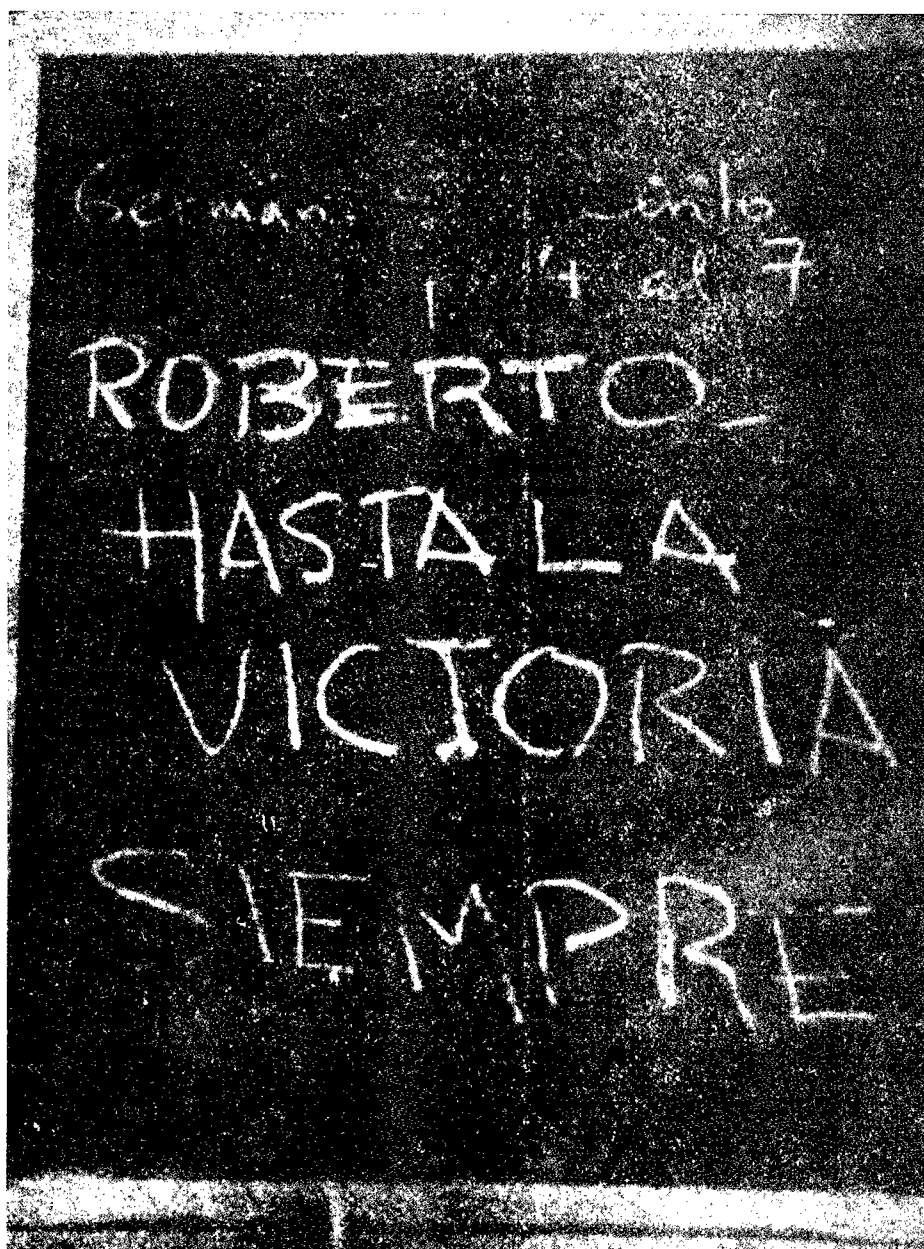
- 927 1970 2 March. Former police agent Zuloaga Rubino was tried for the crimes of "concealment" and "revealing secrets."
- 928 5 March. The Permanent Commission of the Legislative Branch revoked the emergency security measures.
- 929 The executive branch reestablished the emergency security measures.
- 930 5 March. "Contempt: Government Violence," DE FRENTE.¹⁰⁴
- 931 6 March. Maria Esther Gilio, "Depriving the Rural Man of the Local Vision," MARCHA.
- 932 6 March. "The Purpura Case: Here are the Proofs," DE FRENTE.
- 933 8 March. 13 members of the seditious organization held in the women's prison, in an operation organized from outside, escaped from the institution's chapel where they were attending mass.¹⁰⁵ They were Julia Nelly Armand Ugon Coudin, Marta Elena Teresita Avella Luchini, Elida Baldomir Coelho, Gloria Iris Barrios Camacho, Gladys Teresita Bruno Alvarenga,¹⁰⁶ Cristina Cabrera Laport de Bidegain,¹⁰⁷ Emilia Martha Carlevaro de Rocco, Maria Julia Castro, Myriam Raquel Fernandez Marzico de Zabalza,¹⁰⁸ Nybia Mariel Gonzalez Bonila, Myriam Kayden Montero, Jessie Arlette Macchi Torres and Maria Elia Topolansky Saavedra de Martinez Platero.¹⁰⁹
- 934 9 March. A branch of the Union of Banks of Uruguay was attacked and robbed of \$4,000.
- 935 11 March. Two of the escapees from the women's prison, Julia Nelly Armand Ugon Coudin and Emilia Martha Carlevaro de Rocco, were captured.
- 936 11 March. The Court Property Warehouse was attacked and side arms and long barrel weapons seized by the police from the seditious organization in various procedures were stolen.
- 937 12 March. The Palestine Bank, an aluminum factory, an exchange establishment, a plastic products plant, a cigarette plant and a grocery were robbed of a total of \$22,000.
- 938 13 March. As a result of an explosion at the property at No 973 Yaro Street, an MLN-T hideout and laboratory were found. Sixteen bombs, weapons, photographic materials, medicines and a map of the city drafted by the members of the seditious organization were seized. On one wall of the premise were photographs of the 13 individuals who escaped from the women's prison 5 days earlier, with the following inscription: "Without them life is impossible."

- 939 1970 13 March. The six members of the seditious organization who remained in the women's prison following the escape on the 8th were transferred to the Central Police Prison.
- 940 15 March. At a property located at the intersection of Routes 101 and 102, two wanted individuals, Juan Jose Olivera da Rosa and Graciela Nahir Corbeta Piriz de Olivera, were arrested.
- 941 17 March. Three journalists on the daily newspaper DE FRENTE were arrested by the police on charges of links with the MLN-T. They were editor Fasano Mertens and editorial workers Pieri and Lemez.
- 942 19 March. Juan Jose Olivera da Rosa and Graciela Nahir Corbeta Piriz de Olivera were tried for "association for the purpose of committing a crime."
- 943 20 March. A seditious group recovered some \$20,000 which had been buried in the yard of the hideout and laboratory discovered on the 13th.
- 944 23 March. A policeman and member of the seditious organization were wounded in an exchange of shots in a bar on the outskirts of Montevideo. Jose Alberto Mujica Cordano¹¹⁰ and two other persons were arrested.
- 945 30 March. The branch of the French and Italian Bank was robbed of the deposits made during Holy Week. The sum taken is not known because there had been no accounting for 9 days.
- 946 April. "Materials for the Political Training of the Militant," Montevideo, Graphic Corporation.¹¹¹
- 947 1 April. The daily newspaper DE FRENTE launched a journalistic campaign entitled "Antitorture Week."
- 948 2 April. Maria Lilia Castro Anasco, who escaped from the women's prison on 8 March, was captured.
- 949 2 April. "First Fruits Confirmed -- Peirano in the Cabinet. Ousted by the Assembly for Complicity, Peirano Facio Returns to the Cabinet as Chancellor," DE FRENTE.
- 950 3 April. Members of the MLN-T went to a gunshop at No 3954 Dunant Street, where after threatening the individuals there, they stole the weapons on hand. As they departed, the young son of the gunsmith fired at the thieves' vehicle, wounding the driver, who lost control and crashed into a wall. The criminals then fled on foot, abandoning the vehicle and the

stolen weapons. In this connection, the police arrested Jose Pedro Lopardo Tellechea, Gonzalo Romero Bassanta, and identified Sonia Mosquera de Wassen, Adolfo Wassen Alaniz and Raul Hernandez, for whom warrants were issued.

- 951 1970 3 April. "The Involvement of Mr Peirano," DE FRENTE.
- 952 3 April. Maria Esther Gilio, "For a Commission to Investigate the Torture," MARCHA.¹¹²
- 953 5 April. The Mailhos estate was attacked by MLN-T group which stole documents, a sum in dollars and a safe containing gold ingots worth \$300,000.
- 954 6 April. The courts issued a warrant for Luis Eduardo Mailhos, the head of the household robbed the day before, for concealment of possession of the gold ingots and failure to pay tax on the property.
- 955 A seditious group kidnapped the worker Enrique Crossa, accusing him of giving information to the authorities, and leaving him in a public roadway bound and with imitation grenades attached to his body.
- 956 7 April. The police discovered an MLN-T hideout and arsenal located on a property purchased by the organization for the sum of \$10,000. Sidearms and long barrel weapons, explosives, powder and documents were seized and the following members of the seditious organization were arrested: Alfredo Mario Rivera Cedres,¹¹³ Fernando Alberto Romero Basanta, Sonia Maria Mosquera Villamil de Wasen, Armonia Silveira Castellanos de Romero, Graciella Margarita Barituuccio de Costa and Manuela Rosario Vidart de Rivero. The police report indicated that there was a tunnel some 15 meters long leading directly to the street.
- 957 A seditious group of five men who referred to each other by numbers attacked the offices of the Castro Cold Storage Plant in Montevideo, stealing some \$1,050.
- 958 10 April. Maria Esther Gilio, "For a Commission to Investigate the Torture," MARCHA.¹¹⁴
- 959 11 April. The daily newspaper DE FRENTE published a photograph of police inspector Hector Moran Charquero leaving the headquarters of the fourth trial court of the first instance, where he had appeared in connection with charges of presumed torture procedures. The journalist responsible for his summons was Adhemar Jorge Acerenza, so identified in the photograph caption.

- 960 13 April. A seditious group assassinated Montevideo police inspector Hector Moran Charquero in La Rambla.
- 961 The daily newspaper DE FRENTE was permanently shut down.
- 962 14 April. Attacks were made on an exchange established in the branches of the Rio de la Plata Mercantile Bank. The latter was robbed of the sum of \$14,000.
- 963 14 April. Army and police personnel making control checks on Route 6 arrested members of the seditious organization Nestor Sclavo Arman and Ruben Malikoski Trey at the 21 kilometer marker. A third person who, according to the false documentation seized at the site, was the fugitive Juan Almiratti Nieto, fled across the fields.
- 964 17 April. The courts ordered the trial of Jose Alberto Mujica Cordano, arrested on 23 March along with two other persons.
- 965 Maris Esther Gilio, "For a Commission to Investigate the Torture," MARCHA.¹¹⁵
- 966 18 April. After an exchange of shots with police personnel inspecting a house of ill fame, Juan Almiratti Nieto was arrested.¹¹⁶
- 967 27 April. Seditious activist Puro Ferrer Ibanez, head of personnel at the Faculty of Engineering, and Alberto Jorge Toth, medical student, were arrested. The former was charged by the police as the main lease holder of a farm where an MLN-T laboratory and printing establishment functioned. The latter, on being arrested, was found in possession of a matchbox containing a microfilm of the sewer system network on one of the main Montevideo avenues.
- 968 Bombs exploded at a banking institution, an automobile import firm, and the homes of the vice president, general manager, administrative manager and an adviser of the UTE [Uruguayan Workers Union], and the home of the president of the Mercantile Bank, a brother of the minister of foreign affairs, Jorge Peirano Facio.
- 969 30 April. Bombs exploded at the homes of officials of the Secondary Education Intervention Council.
- 970 Maria Esther Gilio, "For a Commission to Investigate the Torture," MARCHA.¹¹⁷
971. 30 April. Oscar H. Bruschera, "1 May in History," MARCHA.

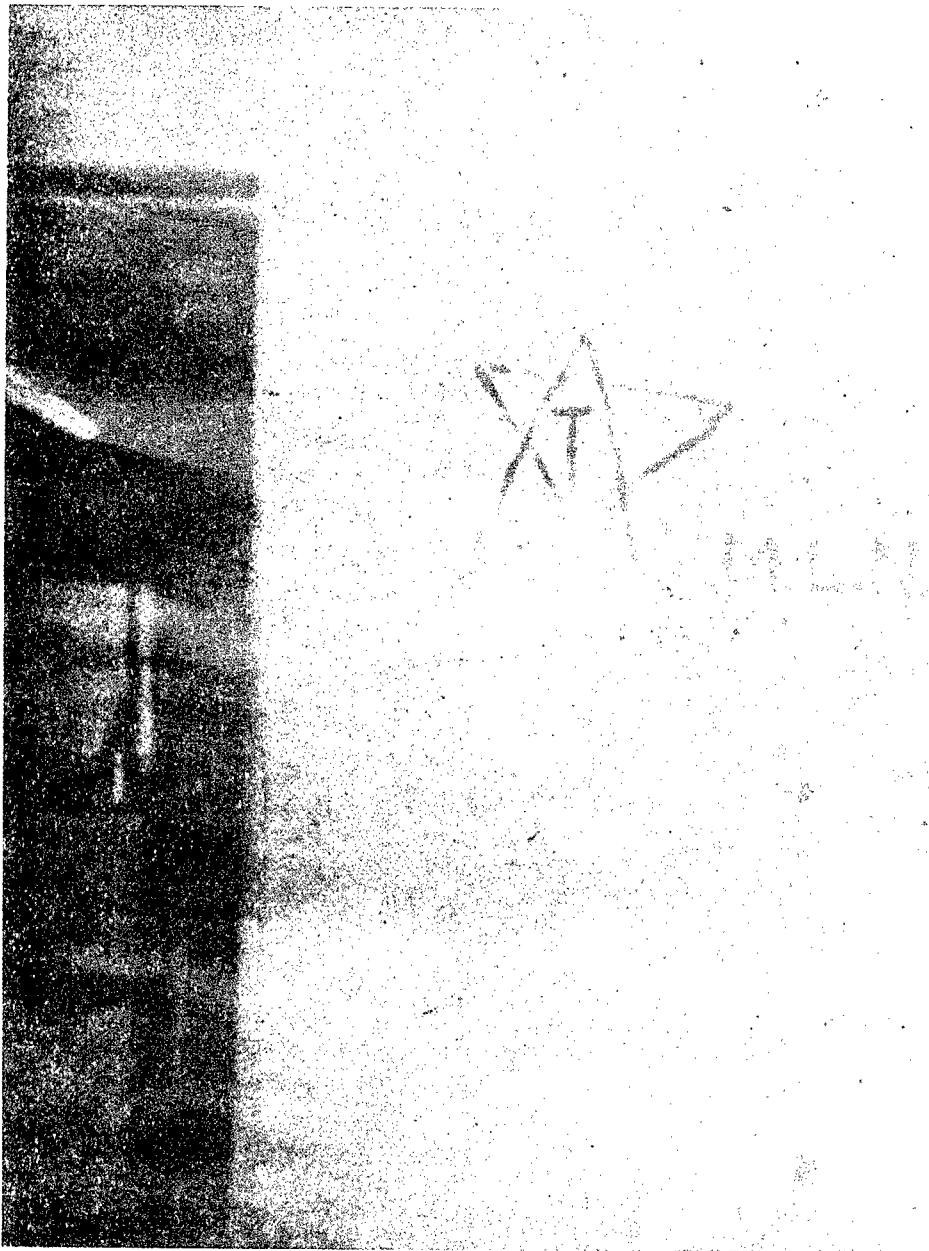


Inscription left on interior wall of the premises of the Mailhos firm: "German S. [illegible] 1. 4 to 7 Roberto - Toward Victory Always."

972

May. Carlos Manini Rios, "Tonight My Name is Battle. Eight Years Which Determine Half a Century, 1911-1919," Montevideo, Imprenta Letras, S.A.

- 972a May. Gregorio Selser, "Sandino," Montevideo, MARCHA Library, Los Nuestros Collection.
- 973 3 May. The Archbishop Coadjutor of Montevideo, Carlos Parteli, and the Uruguayan Episcopal Council, issued a pastoral letter entitled "In This Hour of Renovation."
- 974 4 May. The MLN-T took responsibility for the attempt to set fire to the domicile of Air Force Major Humberto Gomez, in reprisal for his having provided information making possible the capture of seditious activist Rivero Cedres.
- 975 6 May. At the door of the home of the judge investigating the Mailhos case, the MLN-T left two packages containing the secret records taken the preceding 5 April, as well as a letter from Roberto Barbeito Filipone, an employee of the firm who helped the seditious organization with the attack and then went underground.
- 976 7 May. A group identified as part of the FARO attacked a building from which \$4,000 and documents were stolen.
- 977 15 May. The attack on the home of a member of the U.S. Air Force Mission, Flight Sgt Selby Stevens, did considerable damage.
- 978 22 May. Ricardo Urioste, "Situation of the Prisoners in the Central Prison," MARCHA.
- 979 24 May. An FARO group interrupted a film gathering at which the picture "Z" was being shown, stealing the box office take which totaled some \$4,000, and distributing seditious propaganda.
- 980 26 May. The police found the safe stolen from the Mailhos firm on 5 April at a farm where, it was established, Juan Almiratti Nieto (for almost a year), Maria del Carmen Rodriguez Olariaga¹¹⁸ and three other persons lived.
- 981 29 May. Various seditious groups, totaling some 40 men and women, attacked the naval training center in the old city of Montevideo, subduing the garrison and stealing some 700 weapons, many of them modern, which they transported in a military truck.¹¹⁹ The attack was made possible by an employee at that center, seaman Fernando Gerardo Garin Laneri, who had been won over by the seditious organization.¹²⁰
- 982 MLN, North, Montevideo.
- 983 30 May. The office of the National Cash Register Company was attacked and some \$16,000 stolen from it.



Inscription left on the interior walls of the premises of the Mailhos firm

- 984 31 May. Various persons were wounded and seditious activists Hernan Pucurull Saenz de la Pena was killed in an exchange of shots which occurred during the night about 23 kilometers from Montevideo, between a seditious group and the police.
- 985 31 May. Personnel of the 4th Cavalry Regiment and the GM made a search of the property at No 4009 Bernardino Berro Street, where they met with gunfire which they returned, arresting three seditious activists, two of them wounded.

- 986 1970 June. MLN, "Letter to Officers Who Refused to Obey Orders,"
Montevideo.
- 987 June. MLN-T, "Letter to the Military."
- 988 MLN-T, "To the Members of the Armed Forces in Our Country."
- 989 1 June. Various attacks on police officials in Montevideo
were made.
- 990 4 June. By means of a clandestine radio broadcast effected
by breaking into the frequency used by the local stations,
the MLN-T supplied its version of the attacks preceding the
death of Hernan Pucurull and the attack on the Naval Training
Center.¹²¹
- 991 4 July. The executive branch sent a draft law for the defense
of the integrity of the state to the legislature for its
consideration.
- 992 5 June. "Torture: The Report of the Senate Commission,"
MARCHA.
- 993 Personnel of the GR who demanded wage increases and authoriza-
tion to dress in civilian clothes when finishing daily duty,
in order to avoid recognition, were arrested for violations
of discipline.
- 994 The seditious group attempted to derive benefits from the
above incident, sending personal letters to the police pro-
posing the truce and urging them to "join the cause of
liberty and justice." ¹²²
- 995 9 June. Police officers, expressing solidarity with the
personnel referred to above, refused to present themselves
for rank promotion examinations at the police training
institute.
- 996 10 June. Seventy police officers were arrested for insubordina-
tion.
- 997 11 June. After an exchange of shots in which a police officer
was wounded, an attack was made on a branch of the Bank of
Uruguay, from which \$10,000 was stolen.
- 998 12 June. Four seditious members of the FARO attacked the
Swiss Embassy in Montevideo, stealing typewriters, photocopy-
ing machines and documents.

- 999 1970 16 June. The minister of education and culture, Carlos Fleitas, interviewed seditious organization leaders Julio Marenales Saenz and Jorge Manera Lluberas at the Punta Carretas Prison, in an apparent government effort to negotiate with the seditious group.
- 1000 23 June. After the manager was kidnapped, the Palestine Bank of Uruguay was attacked and \$72,000 stolen from it.
- 1001 24 June. The emergency security measures were reestablished.
- 1002 26 June. A photographic equipment shop was robbed of goods worth \$4,000.
- 1003 27 June. Incendiary bombs were thrown into a branch of the Collection Bank and the home of a leader of the Sugar Beet and Cane Workers Association of Uruguay.
- 1004 The MLN-T distributed a mimeographed document containing a detailed report of the attack on the Naval Training Center, a biographical note on Hernan Pucurull and a Bolivian ELN [National Liberation Army] document in which Osvaldo Peredo answered statements made by Regis Debray.



Automobile in which police inspector Hector Moran Charquero was assassinated, after the incident.

- 1005 1970 30 June. The property at No 4272 Jose Batlle Ordenez Boulevard was searched and seditious activists Ana Rosa Viana Ormaechea de Muzzio, Tacito Silva, Luis Miguel Datenna Arias and Antonio Tomas Marmol Suarez were arrested. Items seized included some of the seditious organization's literature and some 15 firearms secreted in a hiding place.
- 1006 Seditious activist Hector Amodio Perez was arrested while driving a jeep at the corner of General San Martin Avenue and El Iniciador.¹²³
- 1007 30 June. Seditious activist Alberto Antonio Cocco Perez¹²⁴ was captured in Montevideo, in the hideout in Apartment 101, No 4794 Aleria Street.
- 1008 30 June. Two seditious activists escaped from the Salto prison.
- 1009 Bombs were thrown at the EL DIA newspaper building and the home of the manager of the TEM enterprise.
- 1010 July. Rodney Arismendi, "Uruguay and Latin America in the 1970's (Experiments in and Assessment of a Revolution)," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 1011 Juan J. Lopez, "Angel Bengochea, Guerrilla War," Montevideo, Edit. Uruguay.
- 1012 1 July. A branch of the Bank of London and South America was attacked and \$56,000 stolen from it.
- 1013 3 July. Raul Gadea, "Box," MARCHA.
- 1014 Mario Nelson Santos, "Four Choices for Reform," MARCHA.
- 1015 4 July. Various confrontations between the police and seditious groups occurred in which one officer was killed and four others seriously wounded. Nestor Peralta Larrosa,¹²⁵ also seriously wounded, was arrested. On this occasion the MLN-T attacked custodial officials at various places, four of them being wounded, and the custodial agent at the home of the assistant chief of the Montevideo police was killed. It was in the course of an attack on the under secretary of the interior's guard that Peralta Larrosa was arrested.
- 1016 7 July. The minister of the interior stated that the struggle declared by the seditious groups "has all the characteristics of a civil war."

- 1017 1970 9 July. The Council of the Faculty of Engineering and Land Surveying unanimously rejected a request from the JPM that the faculty appoint a technician to serve on the advisory commission entrusted with awarding the contract for the purchase of a telephone switchboard.
- 1018 11 July. Seditious groups penetrated the homes of four police officers.
- 1019 14 July. Various police officers received hand sealed envelopes containing mimeographed sheets containing MLN-T attempts to explain the actions in which policemen were killed or wounded.¹²⁶
- 1020 15 July. Seditious activists attacked the Casa Soler firm, from which they stole some 80 women's garments for the summer season.
- 1021 17 July. The model branch of the Uruguayan Banks Association was attacked, and cash in the amount of \$2800 and the guard's regulation weapon were stolen.
- 1022 20 July. The Ottonello Brothers firm located at No 3821 General Flores was attacked and money in the amount of \$7200 was stolen.
- 1023 Four unknown persons, one wearing a police uniform, attempted to enter the home of the assistant Montevideo police commissioner, Oscar Delega Luzardo, but owing to his resistance they took flight, after exchanging some shots, one of the attackers apparently being wounded.
- 1024 21 July. Army and navy officers revealed that they had received letters from the MLN-T urging that they desert and join the cause of sedition.
- 1025 23 July. A group of 12 seditious activists attacked the Electro Confort firm at No 3723 San Martin Street, where they stole items worth \$280, also carrying away records including lists of customers, many of whom were members of the military units.
- 1026 22 July. The branch of the Banking Association located on San Martin Avenue and Bella Vista was attacked, and the criminals took about \$8,000.
- 1027 26 July. The executive branch took preventive steps against possible disorders, in view of the resurgence of seditious activities, student disturbances in the Montevideo streets and the struggle plan of the CNT.

- 1028 1970 28 July. A seditious group kidnapped trial court of the first instance judge Daniel Pereira Manelli from his home.
- 1029 29 July. The fugitive from the Salto prison Carlos Alberto Varela Ramirez, accompanied by Wilder Cesar Silva, was arrested in a bar located at Agraciada and Galicia.
- 1030 29 July. The MLN-T distributed a communique stating that "the revolutionary courts" had begun to function and that the judge kidnapped the preceding day would be interrogated for 48 hours concerning "judicial irregularities" in the trials of various seditious activists.
- 1031 30 July. A radio station and the periodical AL ROJO VIVO were shut down for 24 hours and 1 week, respectively, for carrying the seditious communique referred to above.
- 1032 A court clerk stated that he had received information from the seditious group according to which the judge kidnapped 2 days earlier had admitted committing "judicial errors" and acting "hastily" in the sentencing of various members of the MLN-T.
- 1033 30 July. A court official, a friend of the kidnapped judge, visited various seditious activists in prison to obtain further information.
- 1034 31 July. Various seditious groups stole vehicles in the early morning houses and kidnapped and wounded in the thorax Dan A. Mitriane, a U.S. security expert working with the AID [Agency for International Development] and advising the police, and the first secretary and consul of the Brazilian Embassy in Montevideo, Aloysio Mares Dias Gomide.
- 1035 Nathan Rosenfeld and Michael Gordon Jones, cultural attache and second secretary of the Embassy of the United States, respectively, who were also kidnapped, succeeded in escaping en route.
- 1036 The Brazilian Embassy reported having received a telephone call demanding \$1 million as ransom for consul Dias Gomide.
- 1037 A communique sent by the seditious group to a Montevideo daily said that the release of certain seditious activists in prison would be demanded in exchange for two men kidnapped.
- 1038 The office of the CUOPAR textile company was attacked and about \$20,000 stolen from it.

- 1039 1970 Maria Esther Gilio, "Organizing Sadism," MARCHA.
- 1040 Mario Nelson Santos and Pereira Manelli, "The Judge Judged," MARCHA.
- 1041 August. Horacio Bojorje, "Pacheco, Dan Mitrione and the 160," VISPERA, Montevideo.
- 1042 MLN, "GAT Communique," Montevideo.
- 1042a August. Hector Rodriguez, "Polemic, Trade Union Movement, a Factor in Change?", Montevideo, Tierra Nueva.¹²⁷
- 1043 1 August. The police located premises of the seditious group at No 1887 Guadalupe Street and arrested Mario Roger, Julien Caceres and Idilio de Leon Bermudez, members of the "Resistance" group, and seized various materials, as well as the stolen vehicles they were "disguising."
- 1044 As a result of the above procedure, another premise was located at No 2889 Rocha Street, where Gerardo Gatti Antuna, Luis Alberto Presno Genoni, Victoria Luisa Grisonas and Eduardo Alberto Mariani Patrone were arrested. When the police arrived, they were in a process of evacuating the premises which they regarded as "blown" because of the earlier discovery by the authorities.
- 1045 1 August. The France Press news agency reported that it had received from the Uruguayan seditious organization a copy of a letter from Osvaldo "Chato" Peredo, leader of the Bolivian guerrilla force, revealing that relations between the two movements had been made official.
- 1046 The press reported a rumor that the release of Mitrione would be negotiated in exchange for the seditious leaders Marenales Saenz, Manera Lluberas, Rivero Cedres, Amodio Perez, Rodriguez Recalde and Violeta Setelich.
- 1047 2 August. In a communique (No 4), the MLN-T demanded the release of all those imprisoned for sedition (which it termed "political prisoners"), totaling some 150 (including 30 women), with permission to leave for Mexico, Peru or Algeria, in exchange for the release of those kidnapped.
- 1048 The minister of national defense stated that "the exchange is not under study thus far."
- 1049 The vice president of the republic, Alberto Abdala, stated that "this is a time of peace, conciliation, understanding and even of amnesty."



Brazilian Consul Dias Gomide, kidnapped by the MLN-T

- 1050 1970 Various medications (sedatives, coagulants, vitamins, etc.) were stolen from the Circle Pharmacy, presumably for the care of Mitriane, who was seriously wounded.
- 1051 The U.S. Embassy appealed to the seditious group to release Mitriane, indicating that he was allergic to penicillin.
- 1052 The Brazilian Embassy reported that the wife of Dias Gomide had received a handwritten letter from the kidnapped consul.
- 1053 3 August. A pharmacy was attacked and large quantities of antibiotics and tranquillizers were taken.
- 1054 The police discovered a suburban seditious hideout in the Piedras Blancas sector, some 16 kilometers from Montevideo. Five persons were arrested (4 men and a woman) and automatic weapons were seized (including more than 20 of those stolen from the Naval Training Center), along with bombs and propaganda material.
- 1055 A government spokesman stated that the term "political prisoners" used with regard to the seditious activists was inapplicable, since they were common criminals.
- 1056 The Catholic church issued an appeal to the seditious group urging the return "of all those who were seized and taken from their homes safe and sound."
- 1057 A bulletin from the Apostolic Nunciature announced that the Nuncio, Agustin Sepinski, was offering himself as a mediator in the crisis.
- 1058 Colorado Party legislator Nasim Ache Etchart stated that the exchange should be agreed to, because "in circumstances such as the present ones it should not be regarded as a sign of weakness on the part of the executive branch."
- 1059 National Party legislator Abraham Francisco Rodriguez Camusso stated that "in view of the absolute inability of the government to maintain order, the least it can do is to agree to the exchange."
- 1060 The under secretary for foreign affairs, Americo Ricaldoni, stated that if the government were to decide to release the seditious activists, "almost certainly it would be accused of violating the constitution."
- 1061 Parliamentary circles speculated about the possibility of passing a general amnesty law consistent with the seditious proposal.

- 1062 1970 The Ministry of the Interior issued a statement rejecting the exchange proposal made by the seditious organization.
- 1063 4 August. Judge Pereira Manelli, kidnapped on 28 July, was released, with a "message" from the seditious group (communique No 5) in his possession.
- 1064 5 August. A secret photographic laboratory at No 3601 San Martin Avenue was searched, and weapons and FARO materials were seized. Mario Cesar Rossi Garretano was arrested. The illegal activities in these premises were camouflaged by the operations of a photographic shop which served as a front.
- 1065 The MLN-T released a communique setting the night of 7 August as a deadline for the exchange proposed, and stating that beyond that deadline it was prepared to "dispense justice."
- 1066 A Catholic group headed by the priest Haroldo Ponce de Leon addressed the seditious organization on television, inviting it to "establish dialogue" in order to avoid the threat hanging over the life of the persons kidnapped.
- 1067 The president of the republic, Jorge Pacheco Areco, stated that the proposed exchange would not be negotiated with the seditious group.
- 1068 Sizeable contingents of public forces carried out searches, of six private sanatoriums among other premises, with a view to locating the kidnapped victims.
- 1069 5 August. MLN-T letter to Mariano.¹²⁸
- 1070 6 August. A branch of the Mercantile Bank was attacked and some \$20,000 stolen.
- 1071 The searches and investigations with a view to locating the kidnapped victims continued.
- 1072 The executive branch offered 1 million pesos as a reward for any information leading to the arrest of the seditious activists.
- 1073 Security arrangements were stepped up at the foreign embassy premises.
- 1074 The seditious group sent photocopies of Mitriane's identity papers to the press.
- 1075 A letter from the Christian Communities (Evangelical Movement) to the Apostolic Nuncio, Agustin Sepinski, was published, urging him "to concern yourself with the social injustices which are the cause of violence."

- 1076 1970 7 August. Dr Claude Fly, a U.S. soil expert working in Montevideo for the Ministry of Livestock Breeding and Crop Raising as a representative of the AID was kidnapped.
- 1077 Just after noon, the police surrounded the Clinical Hospital, an establishment under the jurisdiction of the Faculty of Medicine, and made a methodical search.
- 1078 A net organized by the police centering on a property in the Malvin quarter of Montevideo led to the arrest of the following seditious activists who were preparing for a meeting: Raul Sendic, a fugitive since 1963, Raul Bidegain Greissing, sought since February 1969,¹²⁹ Jorge Candan Grajales, wanted since October 1968, who was wounded, Asdrubal Pereira Cabrera, Luis Efrain Martinez Platero,¹³⁰ Diego Picardo Estevez,¹³¹ Nelly Graciela Jorge Pancera de Fernandez Huidobro,¹³² Alicia Rey Morales,¹³³ who had gone underground in 1966, and Edith Moraes Alves de Rodriguez Recalde.¹³⁴
- 1079 7 August. The weekly periodica MARCHA published the open letter mentioned above from the Christian Communities to the Apostolic Nuncio, Agustin Sepinski, noting the discrepancies with his appeal for peace and offer of mediation, deemed to be motivated "solely by a hierarchic sector of the citizenry" and not "by the needs which are plaguing another much larger sector of the people."
- 1080 Hugo Alfaro, "The Hours Are Numbered," MARCHA.
- 1081 Julio Barreira, "Our Most Urgent Task," MARCHA.
- 1082 Alberto Ramon Real, "The Legal Aspect of the Exchange," MARCHA.
- 1083 Mario Nelson Santos, "Opening Fire on Account of Doubt," MARCHA.
- 1084 Mario Nelson Santos, "The Kidnapped Victims and the Prisoners," "The Blocks," "Political Crisis," "Peirano Pulls the Strings," "State Secrets," "Hour of Truth," MARCHA.
- 1085 Ricardo Urioste, "The Ministry of Fear," MARCHA.
- 1086 Ricardo Urioste, "The USIS Is In Everything," MARCHA.
- 1087 Daniel Waksman Schinca, "The Yankees Are Among Us," MARCHA.
- 1088 8 August. The MLN-T issued communique No 9, stating that the lives of the kidnapped victims depended on the safety of Sendic and the other members of the seditious group imprisoned.

[illegible]

814

- 1089 1970 Raul Sendic refused to make any statement, claiming to be a "prisoner of war."
- 1090 The wife of the kidnapped Brazilian consul, Aparecida Dias Gomide, went to police headquarters where she talked with seditious activists Sendic and Bidegain, asking them to act to save the life of her husband.
- 1091 9 August. The secretariat of the presidency of the republic reiterated the government position rejecting the exchange and adding: "Those officials under the jurisdiction of the executive branch who have expressed views in any way in contradiction or challenge to the position of the executive branch or not in agreement with it should resign their positions."
- 1092 The police and military reinforcements searched the city and set up control barriers on all of the roads leading into or out of Montevideo.
- 1093 The executive branch asked the legislature to suspend individual guarantees for 20 days.
- 1094 9 August. The police seized Luis Eduardo Pioli¹³⁵ and Santa Nelida Fontora de Gonzalez.¹³⁶
- 1095 9 August. The premises at No 955 Javier de Viana Street, occupied by the seditious group, were searched, and Manuel Marx Menendez Olivera, Adolfo Ricardo Campbell Martinez,¹³⁷ Juan Jose Dominguez Dias, Lucas Victor Edmundo Mansilla Callero, Mirtha Ercilia Fernandez de Pucurull,¹³⁸ and the main tenant at that address, Margarita Raquel Dupont Olivera¹³⁹ were arrested. Shortly thereafter it was learned that this group constituted the emergency executive committee of the MLN-T, appointed by the organization to replace the officers arrested on the 7th of the month.
- 1096 A Montevideo press organ reported that the police had a list of 428 wanted members of the seditious organization.
- 1097 Representatives of the Brazilian Government offered \$4,000 as a reward to anyone providing information making it possible to establish the whereabouts of Consul Dias Gomide.
- 1098 10 August. At 0400 hours the body of Dan A. Mitrione, his hair dyed black, was found. He had been handcuffed and murdered by four bullets of different caliber. The autopsy revealed that one each had been fired into the temple, near the ear, the breast and the shoulder.



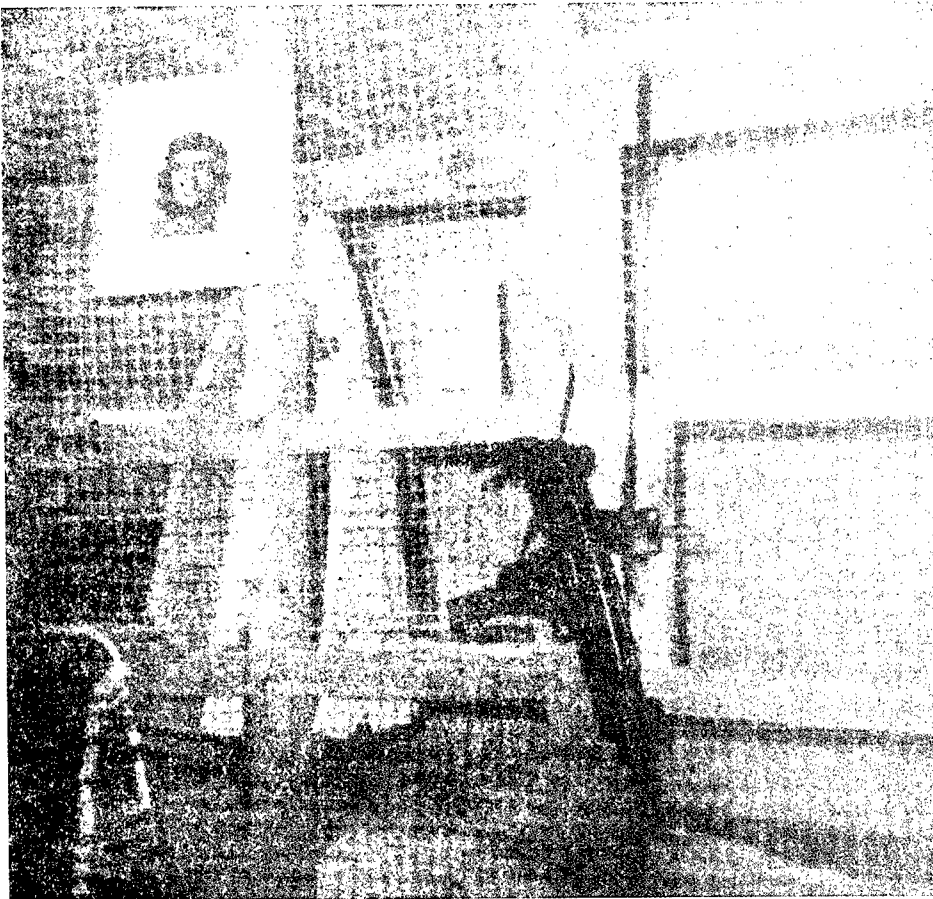
Claude Fly, kidnapped by the MLN-T

- 1099 The executive committee issued a statement denouncing "the infamous crime which took the life of a citizen of a country traditionally friendly to ours, the innocent victim of a deed which arouses deepest humanitarian sentiments in our people and without a doubt all the peoples of the earth."
- 1100 The General Assembly, meeting in special session, decreed the suspension of guarantees requested by the executive branch, and by unanimous votes of all those present (81 out of 130) declared a day of national mourning.
- 1101 The police asked the courts for authorization to use pentothal on the seditious activists. Authorization was denied.
- 1102 Andres Felix Cultelli Chiribao,¹⁴⁰ the Jesuit priest Justo Asiain Marquez,¹⁴¹ and Protestant minister Emilio Castro Pombo¹⁴² were arrested. The first mentioned was charged with membership in the seditious organization and making contact with the latter two for negotiations with a view to the release of the kidnapped victims.

- 1103 1970 11 August. The police announced that the seditious group had let it be known that Dias Gomide and Fly were in good health, but that they would be killed if the authorities learned of their whereabouts.
- 1104 12 August. The athletic field at the National Football Club, the Pasteur and Clinical Hospitals, and the Tierra Santa Church were searched.
- 1105 The police arrested Manuel Mars Menendez Oliveira and Juan Jose Dominguez Diaz, who had escaped from Salto prison on 30 June.
- 1106 Former bank workers Lucas Victor Mansilla Calleros¹⁴³ and Washington Baptista Miralles were arrested. The latter was accused by the police of being one of the main leaders of the FARO.
- 1107 Former editor of the periodicals DE FRENTE and DEMOCRACIA, Samuel Gonzalo Blixen Garcia,¹⁴⁴ a member of the seditious committee referred to in item 1095 above, was arrested.
- 1108 Groups of students held violent demonstrations in commemoration of the second anniversary of the death of student Liber Arce.
- 1109 Unconfirmed rumors circulated concerning the mobilization of heavy contingents of Brazilian troops quartered on the frontier.
- 1110 The police authorized a demonstration by the CNT, the members of which drove through the city of Montevideo in trucks.
- 1111 13 August. The Faculty of Agronomy was searched.
- 1112 Raul Sendic was transferred from the police headquarters to the Punta Carretas prison, where he met for an hour with various members of the seditious organization (Jorge Manera Lluberas, Julio Marenales Saenz, Hector Amodio Perez and others), which was interpreted as an effort to find the solution to the situation of the kidnapped victims.¹⁴⁵
- 1113 The Catholic and Methodist Churches of Uruguay both published statements on the arrest of the priest Asiain Marquez and the pastor Castro Pombo.
- 1114 The police claimed that four guerrilla groups were operating in the country: the MLN-T, the FARO, the Resistance Group or OPR-33 [Popular Revolutionary Organization-33], and the Arturo Recalde Command.

- 1115 1970 14 August. Clashes occurred between student groups and the police near the Faculty of Agronomy.
- 1116 Individuals in the city of Salto prevented the holding of a mass planned by the Episcopal vicar in connection with the assassination of Dan A. Mitrione.
- 1117 The priest Asiain Marquez and pastor Castro Pombo were taken before the judge.
- 1118 Julio Barreiro, "A New Uruguay," MARCHA.
- 1119 Sergio Dimas, "Two Years of Attack on Human Life," MARCHA.
- 1120 16 August. ROE, "Report for Militants," Montevideo.
- 1121 17 August. The police carried out intensive searches for the kidnapped victims in the Montevideo sewer network.
- 1122 Three seditious activists were arrested: Rafael Carlos Mantaras Guisine, former architectural student, Jose Martiniano Zapata Acuna, an employee at the Hemp Sandal Factory, and Ana Maria Tetti Izquierdo de Clavijo, a fugitive since the arrest of her husband, Hector Clavijo Kirque, on 13 October 1969.
- 1123 A professor of philosophy in whose home the police discovered materials for printing documents of the seditious organization and a T-2 type bomb, which could be set off by means of a mechanism similar to that of a bazooka, was also arrested.
- 1124 The police revealed possession of a list of 62 individuals identified as members of the seditious organization, for whom warrants had been arrested. The list included five Argentines, one Peruvian and 22 women.
- 1125 The Central Administrative Council of the University, "in view of the events which have aroused the country," issued a statement which said among other things: "Violence does not break out whimsically, but is the saddest expression of an economic and social crisis which no kind of propaganda can conceal"; that Uruguay was currently being subjected "in order to maintain its structure, to a concentration of power never before known to us, because of its cold and inhuman nature, directed and oriented against the people and their natural aspirations," for which reason "it is not possible to exempt from blame a regime which practices social violence in a silent and persistent fashion, but not for that less dramatic than manifest violence, giving rise in the labor sector to unemployment and

1125 1970 wage freezes reflected in hunger and malnutrition, being mocked in the health sector by a cruel increase in infant mortality, and in the housing sector, condemning the more humble citizens to torture for life, in the unhealthy environment of the slums and poor rural settlements," etc.



View of the front of the "cell" where kidnapped victim Fly was kept.

- 1126 18 August. The police carried out an intensive search of the tunnels of the city dating back to 1841. Searches were also made in the Central Montevideo Cemetery and the environs of an old hospital and the San Agustin Church.
- 1127 19 August. Police officer Nelson Machado Carreno was murdered in an attack by the seditious organization on a bank branch, which was frustrated.

- 1128 1970 The branch of the Plata Bank was attacked and robbed of some \$12,000.
- 1129 Seditious activists Jorge Becca Tessa, a dentist,¹⁴⁶ and Nora de Ritis Beltran, professor of mathematics at the University of Labor, in whose home explosives were found, were tried.
- 1130 Four former militants in the PS, by then dissolved, were arrested: Jorge Irisity Jover, Hugo Felipe Monetti Artola, Eduardo Jorge Amel Perez and Nelson Salle.
- 1131 Unconfirmed rumors referred to a recording of a conversation held by Mitrione and a member of the seditious group shortly before the former was assassinated.¹⁴⁷
- 1132 The police announced the seizure of a secret document of the seditious organization indicating that the movement was being headed from the prison, leading the authorities to undertake the strict isolation of the members of the seditious organization being held at the Punta Carretas Prison.¹⁴⁸
- 1133 A seditious group made up of five men and a woman attacked the El Mago shop, stealing some \$28,000.
- 1134 21 August. An area with a radius encompassing the blocks surrounding the Punta Carretas Prison, where almost 150 members of the seditious organization were serving sentences, was declared a military zone.
- 1135 The closing of a number of bank branches and their concentration in a single location was arranged, as a preventive measure against the wave of robberies.
- 1136 Spanish journalist Julio Camarero, who interviewed members of the seditious organization, was arrested.
- 1137 The weekly MARCHA published the 17 August university statement.
- 1138 21 August. Oscar H. Bruschera, "Those Who Are Weeping Now Will Laugh," MARCHA.
- 1139 Julio Camarero, "Letter of Intention," MARCHA.
- 1140 "Christian Communists on the Current Situation," MARCHA.
- 1141 22 August. Maria Elida Baldomir Coelho, who escaped from the women's prison on 8 March of this year, and Osvaldo Dayman Cabrera Sureda¹⁴⁹ were arrested.

- 1142 1970 22 August. Bank branches were temporarily closed until minimal security systems could be provided, as a result of the constant robberies to which they had been subjected.
- 1143 22 August. In connection with an attack by an OPR-33 group on the UBUR [Union of Banks of Uruguay] at No 4650, 8 October Avenue, the police arrested Hector Alfredo Romero, Paulo Martinez Miranda, Admussen Motta Fleitas, and Conrado Antonio Rojas Pippo.
- 1144 22 August. The police located one of the bases of the OPR-33 at which Gustavo Edison Inzaurrealde Melgar and Walter Miguel Inzaurrealde Perdomo were arrested.
- 1145 23 August. The Solis Theater was searched. At this point, it was estimated that to date some 10,000 home searches had been made.
- 1146 A seditious group attacked the Rural Radio headquarters, subduing the occupants of the radio station and attempting to transmit a recorded message, which did not go on the air because the plant operator, who was located some 17 km from the premises occupied, noted abnormalities and cut off the transmission, broadcasting music instead.
- 1147 25 August. A bomb exploded at the Radio Montecarlo station, interrupting broadcasting for a period of 3 hours.
- 1148 The priest Asiain Marquez and the minister Castro Pombo were released.
- 1149 27 August. After an exchange of fire with the police, three members of the MLN-T were arrested.
- 1150 Nine members of the FARO were arrested at a farm located 500 kilometers to the north of Montevideo.
- 1151 Jose Enrique Diaz Chaves, secretary general of the defunct PS, was arrested.¹⁵⁰
- 1152 28 August. The building in which the United Press news agency had its offices, was searched.
- 1153 The executive branch closed down the secondary school courses until the end of the year.
- 1154 "Negotiation, But With Caution," MARCHA.
- 1155 "War Zone," MARCHA.

- 1156 1970 Sergio Dimas, "Doctor Diaz Tried," MARCHA.
- 1157 Eduardo Paysee Gonzalez, "This, Too, Is Violence," MARCHA.
- 1158 29 August. The university issued a statement denouncing the violation of its autonomy by the public authorities.
- 1159 29 August. The UJC [Union of Communist Youth] held a demonstration.
- 1160 30 August. The guards at the CGIOR [General Training Center for Reserve Officers] were fired upon from a moving truck.
- 1161 The 20 day suspension of individual guarantees approved by the legislature ended.
- 1162 The Belgian Government announced the withdrawal of its diplomatic representation from Montevideo, and its transfer to Paraguay.
- 1163 31 August. The Montevideo Cathedral was searched.
- 1164 September. Justo Asiain, "The Journal I Did Not Write," PERSPECTIVAS DE DIALOGO, Montevideo.
- 1165 Mauricio Langon, "The Students and the Revolution," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 1166 "The Tupamaros -- Conspiracy or Revolution?", Montevideo, Voz Obrera.
- 1167 1 September. The police searched lodgings in which they seized plans of banking agencies, oil refineries, moving picture theaters, and access roads to Montevideo.
- 1168 The courts ordered the trial of the following members of the MLN-T: Raul Sendic Antonnacio, Jorge Candan Grajales, Luis Efrain Martinez Platero, Raul Bidegain Greissing, Diego Picardo Estevez, Asdrubal Pereira Cabrera, Jose Martiniano Zapata, Guillermo Bogorjes, Edith Moraes Rodriguez Recalde, Alicia Rey Morales, Nelly Jorge de Fernandez Huidobro¹⁵¹ and Olga Estevez.¹⁵²
- 1169 4 September. Bombs were thrown at the homes of two U.S. Navy men, Juan Carlos Peirano Facio, president of the Mercantile Bank and brother of the minister of foreign affairs, Enrique Martin, a banker, Omar De Feo, a radio commentator, and the Publicidad Oriental advertising agency.

- 1170 1970 The UP [Popular Unity] candidate in Chile, Salvador Allende, arrived in Montevideo, and the PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay] immediately organized demonstrations.
- 1171 8 September. A seditious group stole 80 kilograms of dynamite from a quarry.
- 1172 Judge Jose Pedro Purpura, who stated that the judicial branch was being infiltrated by "subversive elements," resigned his post.
- 1173 8 September. "Luis Corvalan: Their Desires Were Left Unsatisfied," a report by Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo, special correspondent of Prensa Latina, to the secretary general of the Communist Party of Chile, EL POPULAR.
- 1174 10 September. A seditious group attacked the industrial plant of the Esso Standard Oil Company, from which some \$7,000 was stolen.
- 1175 11 September. Incendiary bombs were thrown at a bottling plant of the Coa Cola Company.
- 1176 Nestor Gonella, "Open Letter to a General," MARCHA.
- 1177 12 September. The isolation order pertaining to the members of the seditious organization being held at the Punta Carretas prison was partially modified.
- 1178 13 September. Thirteen members of the seditious organization serving sentences in that prison began a hunger strike because of the restrictions still imposed on visits.
- 1179 Explosives were thrown at the home of secondary school teacher Carlos Maria Trianon.
- 1180 14 September. An attack was made on the plant of the Press Wirelss Company, and members of the seditious organization Alejandro Hector Maria Buscarons Morelli,¹⁵³ Eduardo Omar Cavia Luzardo¹⁵⁴ and Walter Philip David Abisaad were arrested.
- 1181 The warehouse of the Sudamtex textile enterprise was attacked and burned, causing a loss of some \$5 million.
- 1182 16 September. Incendiary bombs were thrown into the offices of the International Harvester firm.
- 1183 The national Tiza factory was attacked and robbed of some \$4,000.

- 1184 1970 17 September. The seditious organization issued a communique stating that one of the two foreigners kidnapped "is receiving medical attention, and the other is well," and proposing that the first be released in exchange for the dissemination via press, radio and television of a "statement to the public," the text of which was appended to the communique.¹⁵⁵
- 1185 18 September. The seditious organization issued a proclamation, at three places in Montevideo, using the vehicles of a street publicity enterprise, demanding the release of the prisoners and the restitution of individual guarantees. The vehicles were located in front of the Punta Carretas and Women's Prisons and at a central site.
- 1186 18 September. Luis Michelini, "Collazo -- For a National Liberation Front," MARCHA.¹⁵⁶
- 1187 20 September. Incendiary bombs were thrown at various police establishments in Montevideo.
- 1188 The electronic equipment at the Zum Zum, a Montevideo night club establishment, was destroyed by incendiary bombs.
- 1189 21 September. The MLN-T issued a communique denouncing "a provocation planned against our comrades being held in the Punta Carretas Prison," which they claimed was being complemented and if implemented would link the safety of these individuals to that of the kidnapped foreign diplomats and government leaders. It reasserted the exchange proposal formulated in the communique dated the 17th of the month and stated that it was untrue that the government had refused at the beginning to negotiate. "The government negotiated with the MLN." "Later the government abandoned this agreement when the press publicized the visit paid by a minister to the Punta Carretas Prison at the beginning of the negotiation."¹⁵⁷ The text of a letter from the kidnapped Brazilian consul to his wife accompanied the communique.¹⁵⁸
- 1190 24 September. The IPUSA paper enterprise was partially destroyed by incendiary bombs.
- 1191 24 September. The daily newspaper YA reported an official meeting of the PCU and the PDC [Christian Democratic Party] to consider the possibility of establishing a major political coalition.
- 1192 25 September. MLN, "The Tupamaros to the People of Uruguay," Montevideo.

- 1193 1970 The U.S. Fleischmann firm was attacked and robbed of some \$800.
- 1194 An armored truck belonging to the First National City Bank in Montevideo was attacked.
- 1195 The foreign ministry of Brazil reiterated its "extreme concern about the fate of Aloysio Mares Dias Gomide."
- 1196 "And Now Drugs," MARCHA.
- 1197 26 September. An attempt by the seditious organization to kidnap police inspector and director of the department of investigations Alfredo Becona failed.
- 1198 Operations at the Novelty moving picture theater in Montevideo were interrupted by a seditious group, which projected five slides showing slogans against the government and read a communique over the loudspeaker.
- 1199 29 September. The Carrasco Bowling Club was dynamited and totally destroyed. The damage was estimated at about \$160,000. MLN-T members Roberto Ron Fernandez¹⁵⁹ and Carlos Andres Lopez¹⁶⁰ died in the rubble.
- 1200 29 September. Explosive artifacts were used in an attack on the La Rochelle restaurant.
- 1200a October. Hoc. Tap., theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Vietnam, "Peace or Violence?", Montevideo, Nativa Libros.
- 1201 October. MLN, Circular No 9, "Political Strategy and Total War," Montevideo.
- 1202 1 October. The Brazilian priest Hugo Assman, on the special invitation of the Pastoral Team of the Archdiocese of Montevideo, inaugurated the "Priestly Encounter 1970," on the theme "Political Reality and the Kingdom of God."
- 1203 2 October. Kennet Johnson, "Open Letter to the ...," MARCHA.
- 1204 4 October. A package containing MLN-T pamphlets addressed to "Christians" was found on the table in the entry arch of the Tierra Santa Church. The pamphlets contained a seditious statement pertaining to the exchange of prisoners for the kidnapped foreign diplomats.
- 1205 5 October. Fliers were distributed in the environs of the Faculty of Medicine, accusing the police of "having left to die" one of the members of the seditious organization responsible for the blowing up of the Bowling Club, who was left dying in the rubble.

- 1206 1970 6 October. Legislators Zelmar Michelini and Ariel Collazo read to the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, the "statement to the public" appended to the MLN-T communique dated 17 September, giving as their reason a desire to facilitate the release of the kidnapped victim, since the text read would be published officially in the daily reports of the sessions of the two legislative bodies, along with the typescript of the debates, making possible its appearance in the press without the assumption of any responsibility.
- 1207 6 October. Mario Dupont Aguiar, "The Worst Crisis. Sixtieth Summary of the Caustic Political-Social-Economic Process in Uruguay," Montevideo, Talleres Graficos 33, S.A.
- 1208 7 October. The review AL ROJO VIVO reproduced the statement read the preceding day in parliament by the legislators referred to in full.
- 1209 10 October. Incendiary bombs were thrown into the offices of the Pan American Airways in Montevideo.
- 1210 12 October. Incendiary bombs were thrown into the premises of the General Electric and Coca Cola enterprises.
- 1211 12 October. A seditious group took over the Cotex textile plant and read a proclamation to the personnel.
- 1212 13 October. The Domingo Basso S.A. farm equipment importing firm was the target of an incendiary bomb attack, the accounting section, including an IBM computer being destroyed.
- 1213 15 October. Incendiary bombs were thrown into the premises of the agency for the distribution of the periodical READER'S DIGEST SELECTIONS.
- 1214 17 October. Jorge Batlle demands devaluation. Flores Mora accuses the leader of the 15: "To the Island of Flores with him," YA.
- 1215 20 October. A seditious group stole official forms, stationary and seals from a Civil Registry Office, 14th Justice of the Peace section.
- 1216 Another group took over a cosmetics factory and read a proclamation to the workers and managers of the firm.
- 1217 "The Victims of the System," MARCHA.
- 1218 26 October. "The First Socialist President in South America," YA.¹⁶¹

**POR LOS CAIDOS, POR LOS TORTURADOS
POR LOS OPRIMIDOS, POR LOS DESHEREDADOS
DE PAN Y TIERRA:**



...PERO NO SON EL UNICO PODER

**LA IMPUNIDAD DE LOS OLIGARCAS, DE LOS TORTURA-
DORES, DE LOS HOMBRES DE LA DICTADURA, DE LOS
DELADORES, DE LOS ASESINOS UNIFORMADOS:**

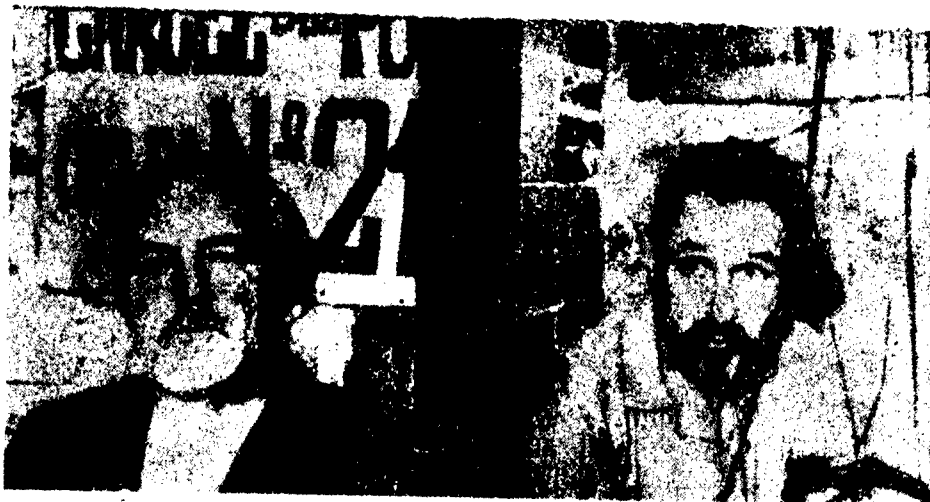
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**EL PODER DEL PUEBLO HABLA POR LA BOCA
DE LOS FUSILES CLANDESTINOS DE LOS
TUPAMAROS**

HABRA PATRIA PARA TODOS.O NO HABRA PATRIA PARA NADIE

Some of the slides used as propaganda by the MLN-T in their "takeovers" of moving picture theaters. The text reads: "For the fallen, for the tortured, for the oppressed, for those deprived of bread and land: the war continues... But they are not the only power. The impunity of the members of the oligarchy, the torturers, the men of the dictatorship, the accusers, the assassins in uniform has ended. The power of the people speaks with the voice of the clandestine rifles of the Tupamaros. There will be a fatherland for all or there will be a fatherland for no one."

**A LA INJUSTICIA DEL REGIMEN
SE OPONE LA JUSTICIA DEL PUEBLO**



**Frick Davies y Ulysses Pereira Reverbel,
detenidos en la Cárcel del Pueblo**

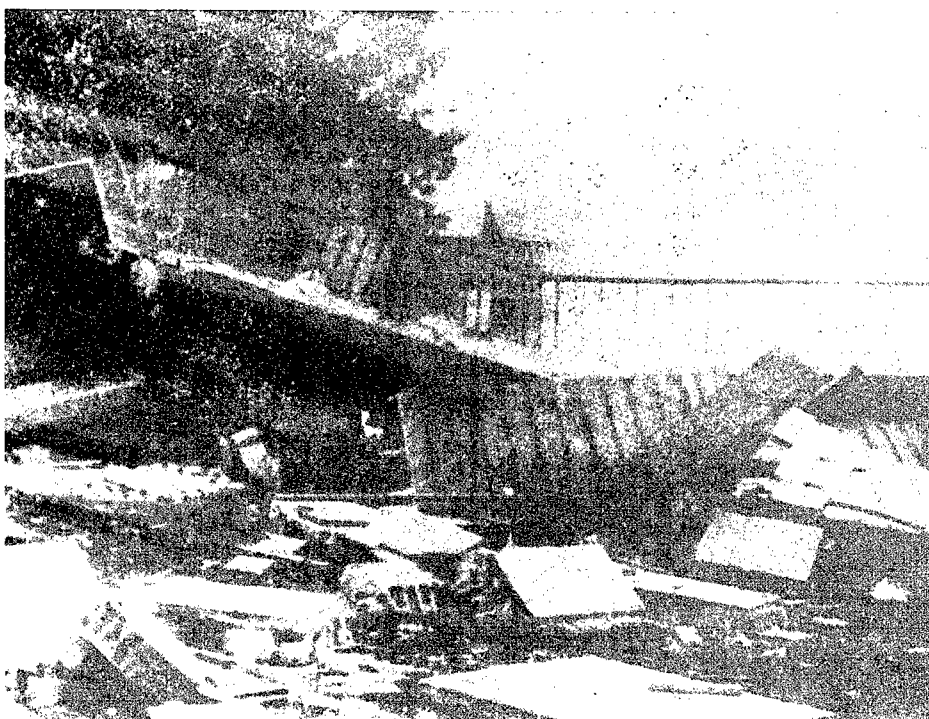
**Hemos ganado la batalla
pero no la guerra ★★★★★**

**Por la libertad de todos
los presos politicos ★★★★★**

**Habr  patria para todos o
no habr  patria para nadie**

Among the slides used as propaganda by the MLN-T in the "takeovers" of moving picture theaters. The text reads as follows: "The justice of the people opposes the injustice of the regime. Frick Davies and Ulysses Pereira Reverbel, being held in the people's prison. We have won the battle but not the war. For the liberation of all the political prisoners. There will be a fatherland for all or there will be a fatherland for no one."

- 1219 1970 27 October. The Associated Press news agency received photographs of Claude Fly taken in the place where the kidnap victim was being held.
- 1220 In a confrontation between a seditious group and the police Juan Carlos Larrosa Cruz was killed and his companions Eduardo Leon Cruz and Susana Albert apprehended.
- 1221 27 October. A cablegram of congratulations from Eduardo Victor Haedo to Salvador Allende, informing him that Uruguay would soon have "a nationalist, socialist and popular state," was published in YA.
- 1222 28 October. Police agent Oscar Alcides Dos Santos was attacked and seriously wounded.
- 1223 31 October. While they were handling an explosive artifact which was to be placed in the National Match Factory, members of the seditious organization Jose Ferreira and Alba Diaz were seriously wounded when it went off. Luis Gonzalo Calazada Marotti and Maria Victoria Jercovich Laczus were arrested.
- 1224 4 November. A Colorado Party club was destroyed by incendiary bombs.
- 1225 7 November. The La Galerna chalet in Punta del Este, owned by a member of the family of political leader Jorge Batlle, was practically destroyed when explosive artifacts detonated.
- 1226 Three minors, all students, were wounded in the Faculty of Chemistry while handling explosive materials which were to be used in the manufacture of bombs to be placed in the Decovid Factory, where strife had developed.
- 1227 12 November. A seditious group including some 20 persons attacked the official pawnbroking establishment, National Savings and Discounts Fund, a section of the BROU where pawned valuables were stored, stealing goods valued at about \$7 million. The crime was made possible by employee Daniel Danilo Guinovart Tonelli¹⁶² who with his wife Estela Marys Schenk,¹⁶³ went underground.
- 1228 13 November. An article "Robbery -- World Record," reported the theft of 1500 million, surpassing the Glasgow postal train robbery total. The loot was enough to fill 10 50-kilogram sugarbags with jewels. YA.
- 1229 14 November. "Last Report to a Guerrilla Fighter," YA.¹⁶⁴



Condition of the building site in the heart of the Carrasco sector of Montevideo following the explosion which blew up the Bowling Club.

- 1230 15 November. The MLN-T claimed responsibility for the pawnshop robbery in a communique in which it offered to return the jewels stolen to their owners following publication by them of their names, pawn ticket numbers and addresses in the newspapers.

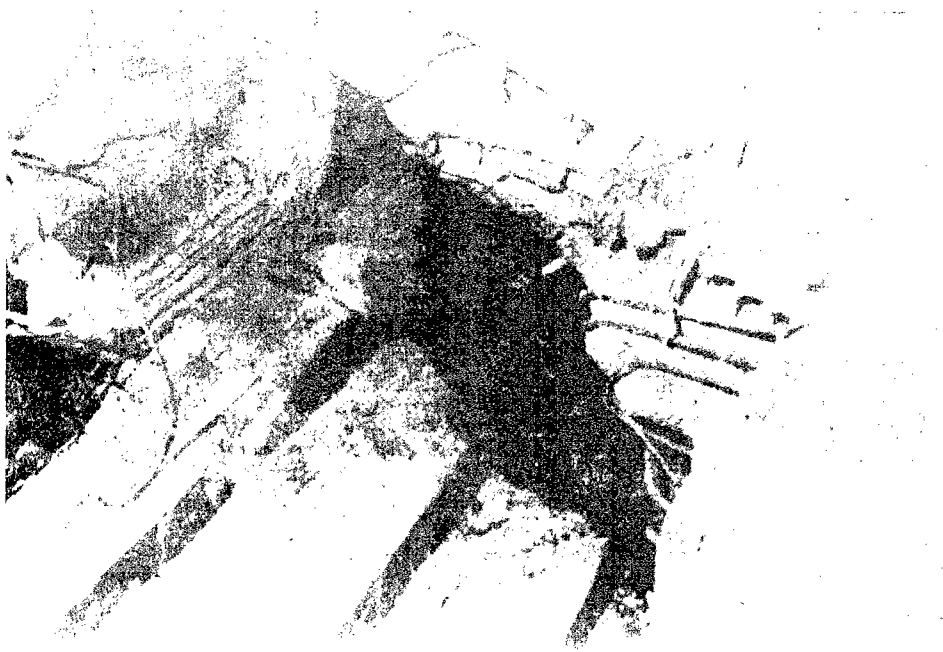
- 1231 16 November. The MLN-T released the text of a letter addressed to the Supreme Court justices pertaining to the controversy concerning the jurisdiction of the civil or military courts in the cases of the members of the seditious organization arrested, and warning that the organization would know how to reward the attitude of those fulfilling their duty with total independence, and promising energetic action against those violating the constitution, etc.

- 1232 17 November. A textile plant, sandpaper factory and a mill were attacked and the equivalent of \$8,000 stolen from them.

- 1233 18 November. Three attacks were made on homes of managers and directors of private laboratories, in connection with the laboratory personnel strike called some weeks earlier.

- 1234 20 November. A seditious group attacked the home of the president of the Chamber of Commerce and the French and Italian Bank, Arturo Lerena Acevedo, at No 2867 Luis Cavia Street, from which they stole documents. The police arrested Jose Felix Nieto and identified Sandra Petrovich.

- 1235 1970 Sergio Dimas, "Various Hypotheses Concerning the Death of Sembrano," MARCHA.
- 1236 22 November. An MLN-T emblem was displayed for several hours in a sector of the Malvin quarter of Montevideo, until it was seized by the police.
- 1237 26 November. The daily newspaper YA published statements by the wife of the kidnapped consul Dias Gomide, in which she accused President Pacheco Areco of being "insensitive and inhuman" and of "using her husband and the agronomer Fly to get himself reelected in the elections next year."
- 1238 27 November. The weekly publication MARCHA carried a letter sent on 27 September from Rio by Dilma Borges Vieira to Aparecida Dias Gomide, the wife of the kidnapped Brazilian consul.
- 1239 28 November. Explosives were used in an attack on the office of the director of preparatory education.



Dead member of the seditious organization in the rubble after the explosion at the Bowling Club. Note how he was trapped by the beam which crushed his right arm.

- 1240 1970 28 November. Another attack was made using incendiary bombs on a U.S. enterprise engaged in market research.
- 1241 29 November. A seditious group kidnapped the treasurer of the Acodike Supergas enterprise, and then stole \$8,000 from that firm.
- 1242 December. "The Guerrilla War," Montevideo, LUCHA.
- 1243 "Thesis of the Socialist Party," Montevideo, Brigada.
- 1244 1 December. The receiving plant of the ITT enterprise was the target of a dynamite attack, interrupting its operations for several hours.
- 1245 1 December. Three persons unknown, one representing himself as a police agent, attacked the YMCA and succeeded in stealing the equivalent of \$20,000.
- 1246 4 December. An MLN-T group read the "Manifesto to the People" to the workers, truckers, handlers and other employees at the National Food Institute.
- 1247 The Second Art and People Festival, organized by the CNT, was held in the Centennial Stadium, with numerous communist and leftist artists participating.
- 1248 6 December. Explosives were used in attacks on the homes of two individuals affiliated with the secondary and preparatory education sector.
- 1249 Attacks were made on the homes of members of the families of seditious activists in prison.
- 1250 7 December. Seditious activists Pablo Harari Dubinskiy and Fernando Gonzalez Petraglia were arrested, and shortly afterward Cecilia Beatriz Giannerelli Avila and Carmen Clotilde Carvalho Vespasiano de Gonzalez were also taken into custody. In this operation, a number of sidearms, explosive artifacts and MLN-T literature were seized.
- 1251 8 December. After an exchange of fire between seditious activists and police agents, Mario Alberto Tetti Izquierdo, a medical student, was arrested.¹⁶⁵
- 1252 11 December. Four seditious activists took over the premises of the IBD, causing considerable damage and stealing a large number of documents.

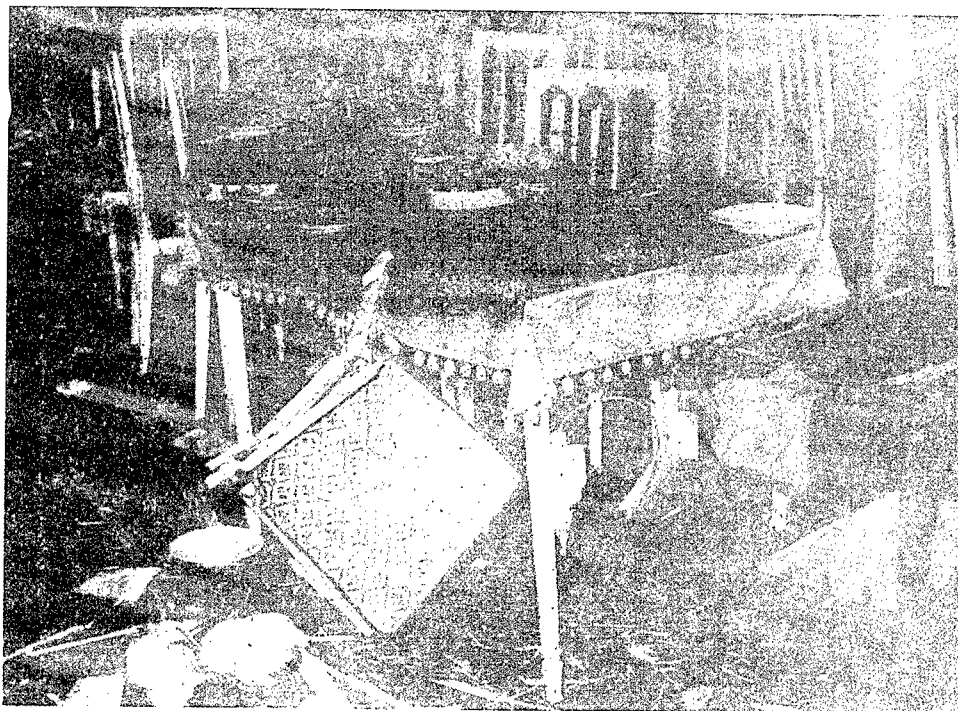
- 1253 1970 13 December. A seditious group made up of two women and four men attacked the Parador del Cerro [Hill Tavern], causing damage.
- 1254 14 December. The executive branch lifted the prohibition on political groups dissolved on 12 December 1967 for conspiracy against the government institutions.
- 1255 14 December. Seditious activist Jorge Bernardo Romada Piendibene was arrested while carrying a package of MLN-T pamphlets.¹⁶⁶
- 1256 15 December. The daily newspaper YA reported on the reinstatement of political groups by the executive branch and published statements by Jose Diaz Chavez, of the PS, Ariel Collazo of the MRO, and Zulma Nagara of the POR [Revolutionary Workers Party], as well as the joint pro-front manifesto by Zelmar Michelini's List 99, the PDC and the MBPP [Popular and Progressive Blanco Movement].
- 1257 16 December. An attack was made on the premises of Radio Universal, which suffered great damage.
- 1258 A seditious group took over a paper mill and read the "Manifesto to the People" to 30 employees.
- 1259 The domicile of the editor of the daily newspaper LA MANANA was taken over by a seditious group, which caused damage and painted slogans on the walls.
- 1260 16 December. "Argentina with Weapons in Hand," YA.¹⁶⁷
- 1261 17 December. A seditious group of five persons took over the Chez Carlos night club, causing damage.
- 1262 19 December. Seditious activists Horacio Dario Ramos Bentancour and Walter Alberto Grassi Rattini were arrested at the corner of Tomas Gomensoro Street and Centenario Avenue. The latter was carrying photographs of the kidnapped Brazilian consul Dias Gomide.
- 1263 21 December. The PDC Convention decided to support the FA, and to authorize the use of its permanent slogan.
- 1264 22 December. Some 600 persons who had been held in the CGIOR for some time were released.

- 1265 1970 23 December. The MLN-T issued a communique making known its support of the FA, a coalition of leftist political groups established under the slogan of the PDC, to take part in the November 1971 elections, "with the understanding that its main task must be the mobilization of the working masses and that its work with them neither begins nor ends with the elections..." "The oppressed will win power only through armed struggle... The armed and clandestine struggle of the Tupamaros cannot be halted."
- 1266 23 December. The daily newspaper YA reported that the Artigas cane cutters had decided to support the FA.
- 1267 26 December. The MLN-T sent a proposal for a "cessation of hostilities" to the government.
- 1268 29 December. "Popular Fronts in Uruguay," Montevideo, Liberacion.
- 1269 30 December. Ricardo Cetrulo, "The Church in Uruguay," MARCHA.
- 1270 31 December. The executive branch refused to consider the seditious proposal for a "cessation of hostilities."
- 1271 At a meeting of the Council of Ministers, the government suspended the orders prohibiting the press to report on seditious activities, as well as mentioning certain words and phrases imposed on 7 July and 2 November 1969.
- 1271a 1971 Julio Barreiro, "Ideologies and Social Changes," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 1272 R. Bianchi, "Limited Itinerary," Montevideo.
- 1273 A. Fernandez Cabrelli, "Those Who Deserted With Artigas," Montevideo, Imprenta Miguez.
- 1274 A. Fernandez Cabrelli, "The Military and the People," Montevideo, Grito de Asencio.
- 1275 MLN-T, "Document No 5," Montevideo.
- 1275a MLN-T, "Our Dead. For Our Uruguay, For a Free Uruguay, For a Liberated Latin America."¹⁶⁸
- 1276 Milton Schinca, "Uruguay Is Changing," Montevideo.
- 1277 Luis E. Teran, "The Tupamaros -- the Invisible Army," S/p/i.



The head of another seditious activist who died when the Bowling Club was blown up, totally carbonized by the high temperatures caused by the explosion.

- 1278 1971 7 January. While an MLN-T group was carrying out an operation in the slum quarters of Aparicio Saravia y Timbues, a clash with the police occurred and seditious activist Eduardo Edmundo Lopez Mercao and Carlos Agustin Sanz Fernandez were arrested when, attempting to flee in a stolen vehicle, they clashed into a decorative column.
- 1279 8 January. The ambassador Great Britain to Uruguay, Geoffrey Jackson, was kidnapped by an MLN-T group.
- 1280 The British Embassy in Montevideo requested the kidnappers to provide Jackson with a medicine he was taking for a cardiac ailment.
- 1281 The executive branch stated that it would do everything possible to rescue the kidnapped ambassador, but that it would not negotiate with the seditious organization.
- 1282 The weekly publication MARCHA published a communique issued by the MLN-T on 23 December of the preceding year in support of the FA.
- 1283 10 January. The executive branch asked the legislature to suspend individual guarantees for 90 days.
- 1284 A seditious communique was found in a Montevideo moving picture theater.



Partial view of the destruction caused in the dining room of the La Rochelle restaurant

- 1285 1971 11 January. The Permanent Commission of the Legislature authorized the executive branch to suspend individual guarantees for 40 days.
- 1286 Police agent Jose Leonardo Villalba was assassinated by the seditious organization.
- 1287 Worker Juan Giberto Moreira was killed by the police when he refused to obey an order to halt.
- 1288 11 January. Seditious activist Maria Teresa Labrocca Ravelino was arrested.
- 1289 15 January. A bank branch in the city of Florida was attacked and \$16,000 stolen from it.
- 1290 "Another Kidnapping," MARCHA.
- 1291 Carlos Baraibar, "On the Kidnapping," MARCHA.
- 1292 16 January. The Ministry of the Interior offered a large reward to anyone providing information making it possible to establish the whereabouts of the kidnapped British ambassador.

- 1293 1971 The priest Raul Otero was arrested and held for 24 hours.
- 1294 The Montevideo parish of Nuestra Senora de Lourdes [Our Lady of Lourdes] was searched.
- 1295 A seditious group placed six bombs in the home of industrialist Mario Berembau.
- 1296 18 January. Lucia Topolanski Saavedra, a fugitive since the attack on the Monty Financing Company S.A. on 14 February 1969 was arrested along with three other persons.
- 1297 Two seditious groups entered the homes of a police officer and sergeant.
- 1298 25 January. The MLN-T issued communique No 15, in which it reiterated the truce proposal sent to the government 5 months earlier, and offering the information that the "foreign kidnap victims" were in good health.
- 1299 27 January. Three seditious groups entered the homes of the under secretary of education and culture, Hector Artecona, professor and journalist Jose Maria Traibel, and professor of medicine Raul Praderi.
- 1300 28 January. Police extended the search for ambassador Jackson to the interior of the country.
- 1301 29 January. The arrest of seditious activist Jessie Arlette Machi Torres, who escaped from the Women's Prison on 8 March 1970, was confirmed.
- 1302 The Faculties of Dentistry and Veterinary Medicine, the School of Nursing, the Traumatology Institute, the Clinical Hospital and the Zoological Gardens were searched.
- 1303 The weekly periodical MARCHA published MLN-T Communique No 15 dated the 25th of the month.
- 1304 February. "The Broad Front," Cuadernos de Marcha [Marcha Notebooks], Montevideo.
- 1304a February. Neiva Moreira, "Nasserism and the Revolution," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 1305 February. A plaque was placed in the Faculty of Agronomy in homage "to Comrades Salerno and Zabalza, who died fighting for the fatherland."

- 1306 1971 2 February. At the intersection of Canelones and Ibicuy Streets in Montevideo, the police stopped a Volkswagen automobile with two persons, who proved to be Elbio Antonio Minetti Borges and Gabriel Fernando Dominguez Suarez. Items seized from them included a portfolio containing large quantities of subversive FARO material and a Walther pistol belonging to deputy Ariel Collazo, as did the vehicle, driven by Elbio Antonio Minetti Borges as Collazo's chauffeur, etc.
- 1307 3 February. The treasurer of the Unemployment Compensation Fund of the Cold Storage Industry was kidnapped by a seditious group, taken to the city of Pando, and forced to turn over to the attackers some \$100,000.
- 1308 5 February. The leftist coalition of groups in the FA was officially established. The political sectors signing the agreement were represented as follows: List 99, Zelmar Michelini and Hugo Batalla; PDC, Juan Pablo Terra and Daniel Sosa Diaz; PCU, Rodney Arismendi and Cesar Reyes Doglio; POR, Zulma Nogara and Luis Noguil; Socialist Movement, Eduardo Jaurena and Angel Valdes, List 58 of the National Party, Jorge Duran Mattos and Juan Antonio Perez; FIDEL [Leftist Liberation Front], Luis Pedro Bonavita and Edmundo Soares Netto; GAU [Groups for Unified Action], Hector Rodriguez and Carlos Fasana Mertens; MRO, Luciano Da Silva and Oscar Onetto, PS, Jose Pedro Cordozo and Jose Diaz Chavez; MBPP, Abraham Francisco Rodriguez Camusso and Eduardo Pintos Curbelo, group of independents, Arturo Balinas and Oscar Bruschera. This ceremony was also attended by Liber Seregni, Victor Licandro, Hermenegildo Irastorza, Antonio Nese, Julio Castro, Julio de Santa Ana Sommaruga, Lil Gonella de Chouy Terra, Federico Fasano Mertens, Arturo Dubra and Jose D'Elia.
- 1309 The authorities carried out intensive searches in the El Pinar and Salinas spas in the Department of Canelones.
- 1310 "Tupamaros vs Tourism or Government vs Tourism?", MARCHA.
- 1311 Ettore Pierri, "The 'Nandu Plan' and a New Style," MARCHA.
- 1312 Hugo Villar, "The Invasion of the Clinics, Synthesis of a Policy," MARCHA.
- 1313 11 February. An exchange establishment was attacked and some \$16,000 stolen from it.
- 1314 A hunger strike was initiated by those serving sentences for sedition in the Punta Carretas Prison because the privilege of recreation in the main court of the establishment was denied them.



Circular 9

ESTRATEGIA
POLITICA

posición de anibal

posición de anibal

GUERRA
TOTAL

ESTRATEGIA POLITICA

- a.- destrucción del aparato del Estado
- b.- dictadura del proletariado
- c.- socialización de los medios de producción

La lucha revolucionaria tiene un objetivo histórico concreto: la transformación de la sociedad capitalista en sociedad socialista.

Esta definición constituye la "estrategia política" de toda organización revolucionaria.

El camino para esa transformación, pasa inexorablemente por tres instancias:

- a) la destrucción del aparato del Estado
- b) la dictadura del proletariado
- c) la socialización de los medios de producción.

Dee de esas instancias - la b y la c.- corresponden a una etapa posterior al triunfo de la insurrección. La

Portada de la Circular Nº 9 del MLN-T, sobre estrategia política y guerra total.

Title page of MLN-T Circular No 9 on political strategy and total war. The text reads: "Circular 9. Political Strategy and Total War. Political strategy: a. destruction of the apparatus of the state; b. dictatorship of the proletariat; c. socialization of the means of production. The revolutionary struggle has a concrete historical goal -- the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. This definition constitutes the "political strategy" of any revolutionary organization. The path toward this transformation passes inevitably through three levels: a) the destruction of the apparatus of the state; b) the dictatorship of the proletariat; c) the socialization of the means of production. Two of these levels, b) and c), pertain to a stage subsequent to the triumph of the rebellion.

- 1315 11 February. The executive branch sent to the legislature a draft law calling for the establishment of a new system of regulations on explosives, chemical and other weapons and ammunition.
- 1316 11 February. The UP decided to join the FA, after its leader Enrique R. Erro refused the formal offer of the candidacy for the post of municipal intendant of Montevideo made to him by Alberto Heber and Wilson Ferreira Aldunate.
- 1317 12 February. Claude Kiejman and Daniel Waksman Schinca, "Conversation with the Militant Named Jean Paul Sartre," MARCHA.
- 1318 15 February. The seditious organization released a communique announcing they would release Brazilian consul Dias Gomide as soon as individual guarantees were reestablished.
- 1319 16 February. The daily newspaper YA was shut down.
- 1320 19 February. "Kidnapping -- Four BBC Interviews," MARCHA.¹⁶⁹
- 1321 Julio Barreiro, "Program Bases of the Broad Front," MARCHA.
- 1322 Ettore Pierri, "Neighborhood Search with a German Flavor," MARCHA.
- 1323 21 February. The seditious organization released Brazilian consul Aloysio Mares Dias Gomide, who was kidnapped on 31 July of the preceding year.
- 1324 22 February. Consul Dias Gomide departed for Brazil.
- 1325 27 February. During the hours of the night, guards at the AFE [State Railway Administration] were subdued by armed members of the seditious group with threats. This was observed by the driver of the military vehicle who acted immediately, leading to the arrest of Horacio Perez Sotelo, Jose Luis del Bono Eguren, Augusto Jose Pedro Moffei Morlan, and, in the environs, Juan Carlos Rezzano Dalmaud, and Alejandro Alberto Quiroga Perez, all members of the FARO. Later investigation enabled the police to arrest Gladys Mia de los Santos del Re and Sonia Mariben Huton, also members of that organization.
- 1326 March. MLN-T, Government Program.
- 1327 Ariel Collazo, "Fronts and Parties," LIBERACION, No 3, year 1, Montevideo.

- 1328 1971 2 March. At 2100 hours, cardiologist Jorge Dighiero Urioste was kidnapped.¹⁷⁰
- 1329 At 2300 hours, Dr Claude Fly, who was kidnapped on 7 August of the preceding year, was left on a stretcher at the doors of the British sanatorium, along with a communique and a clinical history.
- 1330 Authorities searched Apartment No 2 at No 1361 Misiones Street in Montevideo, the office of the Del Sur Real Estate Co, where they seized seditious documentation concealed in the false "library," as well an index of police personnel. Noemi Lidia Alonso Firpi,¹⁷¹ Irma Clementina Roux Cabral, Giocondo Antonio Rada Nolo Giannaso, Graciella Gunilo Olivera and Edgardo Javier Alonso Firpi were arrested.
- 1331 3 March. The MLN-T released a communique pertaining to the reason -- illness -- which led the organization to release Dr Fly.
- 1332 4 March. A reward incentive was established for agents succeeding in capturing criminals belonging to the seditious organization.
- 1333 5 March. "Clinical History of Dr Claude Fly (daily record of developments and treatment drafted by the seditious organization during his kidnapping, at 'People's Hospital No 3')," MARCHA.
- 1334 Leopoldo Madruga,¹⁷² "Maggiolo -- the Truth about the Engineering Search," MARCHA.
- 1335 10 March. A seditious group kidnapped state prosecutor general Guido Berro Oribe from his home for interrogation on his activities by a "people's court."
- 1336 The MLN-T disseminated a communique concerning the kidnapping of prosecutor Berro Oribe, in which reference was made to the situation of the "political prisoners" and the jurisdiction of the military courts over crimes of sedition.¹⁷³
- 1337 11 March. A hairdressing establishment in Montevideo was attacked by a seditious group, and 210 wigs worth \$12,000 were stolen from it.
- 1338 15 March. Four seditious activists (two men and two women) attacked the offices of the Montevideo weekly TIEMPO.

- 1339 1971 16 March. The seditious organization released communique No 19, announcing that the prosecutor kidnapped a couple days earlier was in good health and would be released "following the pertinent investigation."
- 1340 The police stopped a light truck and arrested a passenger, seditious activist Pedro Manuel Eizmendi Cabrera.¹⁷⁴ Arrested with him were Rutilio Dardo Bantancour Roth, Esther Carmen Uribasterra Matas, Xenia Itte Gonzalez,¹⁷⁵ Manuel Taibo Garcia, Severino Gil Clavijo,¹⁷⁶ David Alberto Campora Scheizer¹⁷⁷ and Ruben Mario Guaz Porley, also members of the seditious organization.
- 1341 19 March. The weekly MARCHA published communique No 19 of the seditious organization, pertaining to the interrogation to which the kidnapped prosecutor general Berro Oribe was subjected by the "people's court."
- 1342 20 March. The MLN-T released communique No 20, pertaining to the interrogation of the prosecutor general on the points listed in communique No 19, including matters pertaining to the operations of the Monty Financing Co., S.A. and "misfeasance."¹⁷⁸
- 1343 22 March. The MLN-T made known its "revolutionary government program."
- 1344 23 March. At 2000 hours, prosecutor general Berro Oribe, who was kidnapped by the seditious organization 15 days earlier, was set free.
- 1345 The Artigas cane cutters rallied by the UTAA [Artigas Sugar Workers Union] launched the fifth march on Montevideo in Bella Union, under the slogan "for land and with Sendic."
- 1346 26 March. The weekly MARCHA published MLN-T communique No 20.
- 1347 Guillermo Chifflet, "Torture -- An Operation in Shadow," MARCHA.
- 1348 The seditious organization disseminated copies of a short letter from Ambassador Jackson to his wife and two photographs showing him with a beard, in one of which he appears reading the novel "One Hundred Years of Solitude" by the Colombian Gabriel Garcia Marquez.
- 1349 30 March. Members of the MLN-T took over the Niboplast firm plant and read a proclamation to the employees. Learning of the incident, the police authorities surrounded the building and after an intensive exchange of shots, arrested the following

1349 1971 seditious activists: Marta Elena Teresita Avello Luchini,¹⁷⁹
 Raul Pugin Alliot, Estela Maria Sanchez Mendoza, Laureano
 Juan Riera Galeano, Agueda Susana Carli Alaniz,¹⁸⁰ Eduardo
 Luis Farinas Soto, Graciela Darre Francia,¹⁸¹ Victor Hugo
 Scevenko Savasca and Jose Maria Perez Lutz.



The British Ambassador, Geoffrey Jackson, kidnapped by the MLN-T, reading "One Hundred Years of Solitude."

- 1350 30 March. The seditious group kidnapped the president of the UTE [General Administration of State Electric Power and Telephones], Ulises Pereira Reverbel, for the second time. He was kidnapped from the office of his dentist.
- 1350a April. Alberto Zum Felde, "Christ-Marx Dialogue," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 1351 2 April. Leopoldo Madruga, "The First Report on Ambassador Geoffrey Jackson," MARCHA,¹⁸²
- 1352 Carlos Parteli, Archbishop Coadjutor of Montevideo, "The Church and Violence," MARCHA.¹⁸³

- 1353 1971 Hugo Villar, "A Revolution in Political Tradition," MARCHA.
- 1354 5 April. EL POPULAR carried statements by deputy Rodney Arismendi, secretary general of the PCU, made in Moscow in connection with the holding of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, according to which "Uruguay has maintained the highest average index of strikes and collective resistance by general shutdown anywhere in the capitalist world."
- 1355 10 April. MLN-T, "Open Letter to the Deputies and Senators."¹⁸⁴
- 1356 13 April. Industrialist Ricardo Ferres Terra was kidnapped by a seditious group.
- 1357 13 April. Committee of Families of Political Prisoners, "How Long Will Injustice Last?"
- 1358 13 April Deputy Angel Rath raised the issue of jurisdiction in the House of Representatives, in connection with the public letter of the seditious organization dated the 10th of the month.
- 1359 14 April. The dissemination by any means of any kind of information or commentary pertaining to the criminal groups operating in the country, except for information coming from official bodies, was prohibited.
- 1360 18 April. GM Lt Jesus Dos Santos Piriz was attacked by an MLN-T group on leaving his home. He fought back, mortally wounding seditious activist Luis Heber Correa Paez. Also, seditious activist Luis Bolivar Alemany and Carlos Julian Hernandez Machado were arrested in the environs.
- 1361 18 April. Carlos Parteli, "Words from the Pastor," Bulletin of the Maria Auxiliadora Parish.¹⁸⁵
- 1362 19 April. Committee of Families of Political Prisoners, "Let Them Not Speak of Humanity!" Political Prisoners of the CGIOR.
- 1363 20 April. An MLN-T group attacked the home of Dr Ricardo Rinini, at 1285 Canelones Street, stealing 34 long barrel weapons of various calibers with their bayonets.
- 1364 21 April. Police agent Gilberto Caraballo was machinegunned and fatally wounded at the intersection of General Flores Avenue and Itacombu in Montevideo by MLN-T members in a light truck.

- 1365 1971 21 April. An MLN-T group presented themselves at the home of Juan Jose Gari Arosa, No 6337 Rivera Street, representing themselves as police agents, with the obvious intention of kidnapping him. The incident was noted by a son of the householder, who went to his bedroom and taking a weapon, resisted the attackers. After an exchange of a few shots, they fled.
- 1366 23 April. The police made a search at the El Pinar spa, Department of Canelones, and found 7,500 bullets and electronic materials stolen during the attack on the Naval Training Center.
- 1367 27 April. The police arrested the fugitive seditious activist Olga Cairello Pirez as well as Luis Alberto Machado Rodales.¹⁸⁶
- 1368 Fugitive seditious activist Myriam Raquel Rernandez Marzico de Zabalza was arrested on the street by police.
- 1369 30 April. Guillermo Chifflet, "Artigas Sugar Workers Union -- the Long March,"¹⁸⁷ MARCHA.
- 1370 May. MLN-T, "Open Letter to the Members of the Armed Forces."
- 1371 Walter Sanseviero, "Communism Has the Answer," Montevideo, UJC Library.
- 1372 2 May. "The Church and Violence -- a Letter from Monsignor Carlos Porteli," MARCHA.
- 1373 3 May. The remittance clerks at the Collections Bank were attacked by an MLN-T group which stole cash equivalent to \$25,600.
- 1374 14 May. The former minister of livestock breeding and crop raising, Carlos Frick Davies, was kidnapped by a seditious group.
- 1375 14 May. Five members of the MLN-T attacked Alfredo Raul Deambrosis as he was driving his car away from his home. When he moved to reach for a weapon, the attackers fired at him, wounding him slightly. They then fled.
- 1376 15 May. Almost simultaneously, the Montevideo moving picture theaters Capurro, Mundial, Pocitos and Lutecia were taken over by the seditious group. At the last mentioned, a confrontation with a police patrol occurred, resulting in the wounding of one police agent and one of the seditious activists, who was carried away by his comrades.



Pereira Reverbel, president of the UTE, kidnapped by the MLN-T



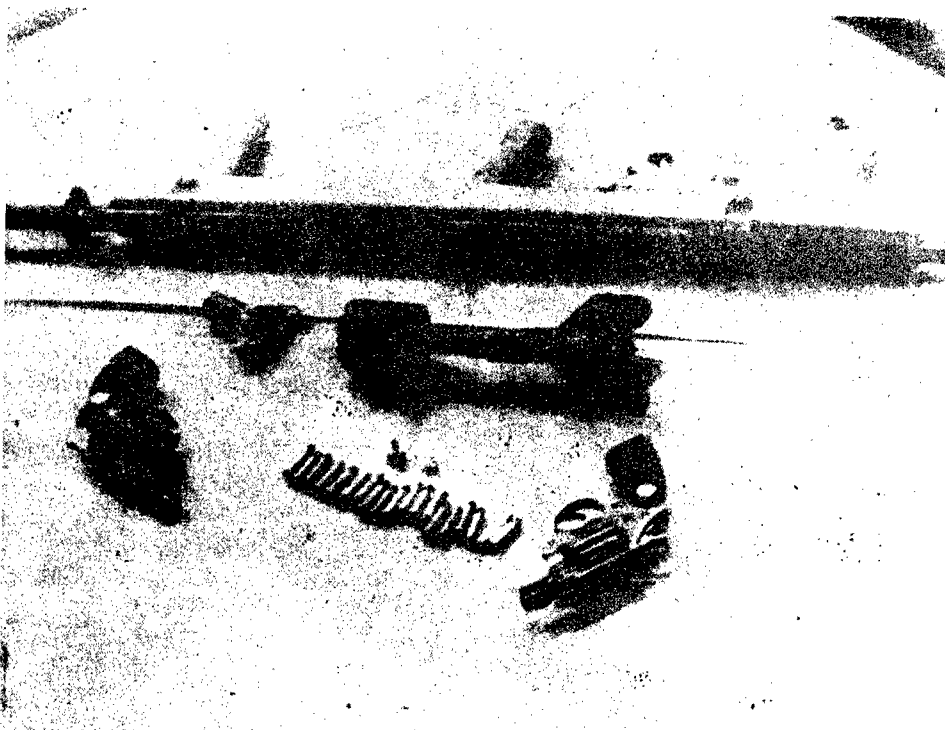
Taxi used in the attack on Lieutenant Dos Santos

- 1377 19 May. A seditious group set fire to the house of Jorge Peirano Facio located at No 5430 Colman Road, with the result that a boy of 9, the son of the caretaker at the building, suffered slight burns.
- 1378 23 May. The police authorities arrested fugitive seditious activist Maria Elia Topolanski Saavedra de Martinez Platero in the street.
- 1379 26 May. Seditious leader Juan Almiratti Nietto escaped from the 4th trial court.
- 1380 31 May. Student disturbances occurred at the Eduardo Acevedo de Villa Colon Secondary School in Montevideo, in connection with which 17 students suffered contusions.
- 1381 June. MLN, "To the Public," Montevideo.
- 1382 1 June. The press carried a report to the effect that the police were responsible for the events of the preceding day at the Colon Secondary School.

- 1383 1971 The minister of the interior denied to journalists at Government House that the police had anything to do with the disturbances reported, although he did admit that a commissioner was present, along with other parents, having come to protect his daughter, a student at that educational institution, who like other students had been threatened and attacked during the preceding days.
- 1384 3 June. A seditious group machinegunned a vehicle, seriously wounding the second in command of the GM, Major Isabel Ponciano Saravia, who was riding in it, and killing the driver, agent Aidis Asuncion Perez Melo.
- 1385 13 June. An MLN-T hideout was discovered at No 4115 Centenario Avenue. The tenant, Juan Amelio Espinosa Rodriguez, fled with other seditious activists after a police agent took action.¹⁸⁸
- 1386 14 June. The intervention of the Secondary Education and UTU [Labor University of Uruguay] Councils decreed on 12 February 1970 was revoked.
- 1387 15 June. The executive branch shut down the Cuban Prensa Latina news agency, "the representative of a government with which this country does not maintain relations, a center of disturbances of an internal nature and the promotion of sedition," and ordered the expulsion of its editor, Orlando Contreras Castro, of Chilean nationality. This agency had operated in Uruguay after that time with its management and administration directly linked with the DEGN corporation, headed by the vice president of FIDEL, Edmundo Soares Netto, the other leading officers being Jacques Albelda, Eduardo Lima, Sergio Ibarburo and Ariel Martirena. Contributors to Prensa Latina in Uruguay included Luis Martirena, Julio Villegas Piaggio, Carlos Nunez, Carlos Maria Gutierrez, Marcos Gabay, Jorge Onetti, Maruja Echegoyen, Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo and Marcelo Ravoni, the last mentioned being the attorney for the agency, etc.
- 1388 22 June. While a seditious group was in the act of robbing a branch of the Manzanares, S.A. firm, it was surprised by GM Sgt Custodio Rodriguez, following which there was an exchange of shots in which seditious activist Pedro Oclides Baez Cerchiara was killed and that police agent was mortally wounded.¹⁸⁹
- 1389 A seditious group assassinated the foreman at the Niboplast firm, Juan Andres Bentancour Carrion.¹⁹⁰
- 1390 23 June. An OPR-33 group kidnapped the director of the FUNSA [Uruguayan Higher Plant, Ltd] enterprise, Alfredo Cambon Porto, from his home.

- 1391 1971 26 June. The FUNSA director mentioned above was set free.
- 1392 July. MLN-T, CORREO TUPAMARO, "At Full Tilt. Five Months Away from the Elections We Are at War."
- 1393 July. Julio Maria Sanguinetti and Alvaro Pacheco Sere, "The New Constitution," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 1394 2 July. Seditious activists stole a light truck.
- 1395 The Ildefonso Garcia y Vera GR station was fired upon by a heavy caliber weapon from the light truck stolen a few hours earlier.
- 1396 2 July. At the culmination of a long range operation, the police arrested the following members of the seditious organization: Delver Stirling Vazquez Martinez, his wife Virginia Amanda Olivieri Gonzalez de Vazquez, Maria de los Angeles Balparda Britos, Sandra Veronica Angeleri Chamorro de Cabrera, German Alfredo Cabrera Traversoni, Ana Elena Casamayou del Pino, Floreal Gualberto Garcia Larrosa, Lia Margerita Maciel Rodriguez, Socrates Sanz de Ares, Adriana Iris Castera Morales, Hector Daniel Brun Cornelius, Carlos Eugenio Furtado Topolansky, Jose Ignacio Vita Hernandez, Armando Hugo Blanco Katras, and wanted seditious activist Adolfo Wassen Alaniz.¹⁹¹ Later Alejandro Antonio Blanco de Aramburu, Martha Loreley Pallas Silveira and Carlos Rodriguez Garcia¹⁹² were also arrested.
- 1397 3 July. Shots were fired at the home of a GM agent by three persons unknown, who then fled.
- 1398 4 July. A seditious group made up of five men and one woman took over a cardboard factory located at No 1371 Vilardebo Street in Montevideo, who read a proclamation to the personnel and gave them copies of the CORREO TUPAMARO.
- 1399 A Molotov cocktail was thrown into the entrance of the home of a police agent in the 24th section of Montevideo.
- 1400 5 July. MLN-T members stole an automobile from the garage at No 1186 Colonel Alegre Street.
- 1401 6 July. Three MLN-T members kidnapped municipal driver Ruben Rebolague Correa and held him for several hours, and stole the truck belonging to the office of the municipal intendant of Montevideo, of which the kidnap victim was the driver.
- 1402 An incendiary bomb was placed in the doorway of the home of a GM primary school teacher.

- 1403 1971 An incendiary bomb was thrown through the window of the home of retired police officer Juan Andrade de Filipo.



Weapons used in the attack upon Lieutenant Dos Santos, including a Lanza T-3 rifle

- 1404 Four MLN-T members entered the headquarters of the justice of the peace of the 11th section of Montevideo, forced the safe and stole two firearms and a sum of money equivalent to \$15,000.
- 1405 12 July. A seditious group kidnapped industrialist Jorge Berembau, for whose ransom they demanded a large sum of money.
- 1405a 15 July. The executive branch reestablished the emergency security measure.
- 1406 MLN-T members attacked the BROU branch in the city of Tacuarembó, stealing the equivalent of \$22,900 and fleeing in the light truck belonging to the assistant manager of that bank branch, Jose Bibiano Milan.¹⁹³
- 1407 17 July. Seditious activist Raul Bidegain Greissing escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison, pretending to be his brother, who was visiting him and who was arrested.

- 1408 1971 18 July. Agent Abel Adan Ayala Alves, a native of the Department of Rivera and a student of medicine, failed to appear for work at the medical and social aid department of the police, where he was working on commission, without giving notice.¹⁹⁴
- 1409 19 July. MLN-T members took over the Maracana and Pocitos moving picture theaters in Montevideo, where they showed slides including photographs of kidnap victims Ulises Pereira Reverbel and Carlos Frick Davies, and distributed propaganda fliers stating that their leader, Bidegain Greissing, was again operating in the ranks of the seditious movement.
- 1410 24 July. Incidents occurred at the construction school of the UTU at Arenal Grande and Dante Streets, in connection with which student Heber Milton Nieto Santos was fatally wounded.
- 1411 25 July. MLN-T groups, acting simultaneously, took over the Arizona, Capurro, Novelty and Premier moving picture theaters, where they read proclamations.
- 1412 27 July. An exchange of fire occurred between GM personnel traveling in a light truck and seditious activists in another, resulting in the wounding of officer Miguel Zubiri.
- 1413 28 July. The MLN-T released communique No 23, demanding the deposit of a sum equivalent to \$270,270 to be distributed among the personnel at the Berembau enterprise, as a ransom for the head of that firm, Jorge Berembau.
- 1414 29 July. Seditious activists threw a bomb of high explosive power into the home of the coroner who performed the autopsy on the body of UTU student Heber Milton Nieto Santos, leaving pamphlets disputing the medical report.
- 1415 30 July. By means of digging a tunnel from a cell in the Women's Prison to join the sewer network, 38 seditious activists escaped from that institution.¹⁹⁵
- 1416 30 July. Section 14 polic agent Ildefonso Kauslaukas Markeviciute was found dead in the Vaz Ferreira municipal park in El Cerro, with two bullet holes at the base of the cranium.
- 1417 31 July. The body of seditious activist Manuel Ramos Filippini, in which there were numerous bullet holes, was found among rocks on the Montevideo coast, near the Ki Bon tavern in the Pocitos sector.



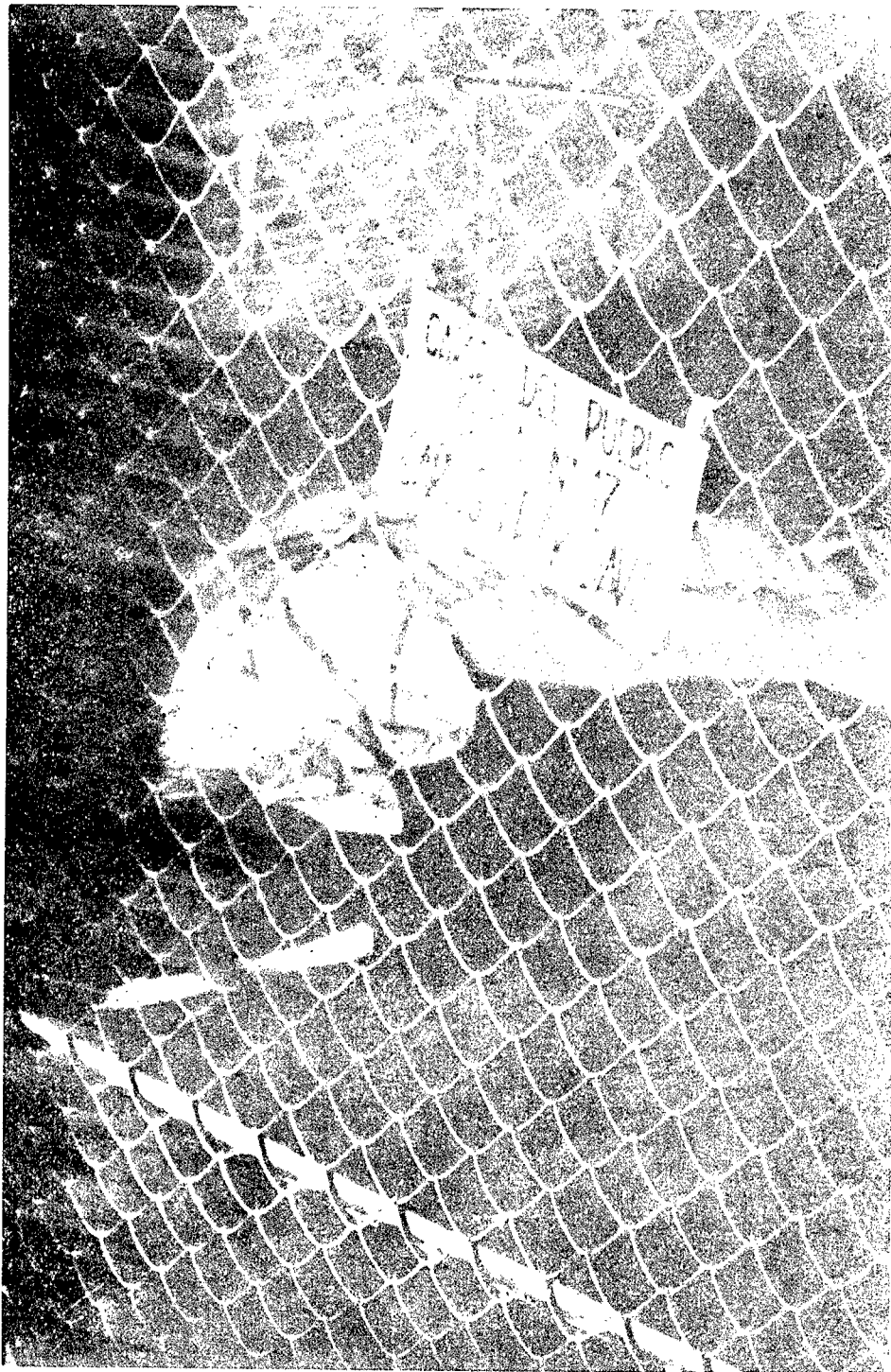
Frick Davies, former minister of livestock breeding and crop raising, kidnapped by the MLN-T.

1418

The police authorities located goods stolen from the Tacuarembó branch of the BROU on the 15th of the month at the property located at No 363 33d Street in that city, recovering cash in the amount of \$9,114 and a pistol stolen from the Naval Training Center. They arrested the occupants of the premises, Antonio Mas Mas,¹⁹⁶ Hugo Humberto Piedra Morales and his wife Maria Teresa Diaz de Piedra.

- 1419 1971 August. Rodney Arismendi, "The Uruguayan Revolution in the Era of the Broad Front," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 1420 "The Church and Socialism. Chile, Peru, Uruguay," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 52, Montevideo.
- 1421 MLN-T, CORREO TUPAMARO, "The Squadron of the Oligarchy."¹⁹⁷
- 1422 MLN-T, "For Maciel, the Bowlegged."
- 1423 Gabriel Ramirez, "The Uruguayan Armed Forces in the Continental Crisis," Montevideo, Tierra Nueva.
- 1424 Vivian Trias, "Peru -- Armed Forces and Revolution," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 1425 1 August. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at the home of GM agent Richard Rodriguez.
- 1426 2 August. MLN, "The Squadron of the Oligarchy," Montevideo, Tupac Amaru editions, Printing Establishment No 7.
- 1427 The Ildefonso Garcia y Vera GR station was fired upon by heavy caliber weapons from a moving truck.
- 1428 4 August. Six MLN-T members, including a woman, took over the cardboard box factory located at No 1371 Vilardebo Street, forcing the employees to listen to the reading of a proclamation and supplying them with copies of CORREO TUPAMARO.
- 1429 11 August. Four members of the MLN-T intercepted a vehicle belonging to the Manzanares firm which was transporting cash remittances, firing 7 bullets at agent Juan Francisco Alvares who was serving as guard, killing him, and then fleeing.
- 1430 Three MLN-T members gained the confidence of the inhabitants of the premises at the No 1220 Joaquin Requena Street, by showing false police cards. They stole four rifles, two of them air rifles, one shotgun, a Montecristo and ammunition.
- 1431 14 August. Hector Borrat, "From the Archbishopric: Not Kidnappings Alone," MARCHA.
- 1432 15 August. A seditious MLN-T group stole electronic items from the Corvex, S.A. firm.
- 1433 16 August. Felix Cernuschi, "Education, Science, Technology and Development," Montevideo, Publications Department of the University of the Republic, Atenas Graphic Workshops.

- 1434 1971 17 August. Carlos Maeso, the intermediary in collecting the money demanded by the seditious organization as ransom for industrialist Jorge Berembau, was kidnapped.
- 1435 18 August. An OPR-33 group kidnapped the vice president of the Model Cold Storage Company, Luis Fernandez Llado.
- 1436 19 August. The seditious organization released Carlos Maeso.
- 1437 20 August. The MLN-T issued communique No 24 concerning the payment of \$270,270 in ransom for the kidnapped Jorge Berembau.
- 1438 An MLN-T group ambushed an CUTCSA [Uruguayan Bus Company, Inc] bus and forced the passengers to listen to the reading of a proclamation.
- 1439 23 August. The daily newspaper LA IDEA reported the disappearance of preparatory agronomy student Hector Costagneto Da Rosa, said to be missing from his home since the 17th of the month.¹⁹⁸
- 1440 An MLN-T group stole firearms from apartment No 703 at No 2723 21 September Street.
- 1441 25 August. "Broad Front -- The First 30 Government Measures."¹⁹⁹
- 1442 30 August. An MLN-T group stole some 30 weapons from the Montevideo gunshop located at No 536 Luis de la Pena Street.
- 1443 31 August. A seditious group used incendiary bombs in an attack on the shoe shop at No 29 Carlos Maria Ramirez Street, causing damage estimated at about 12 million pesos.
- 1444 September. Claude Julien, "The Cuban Revolution," Montevideo, MARCHA.
- 1445 September. "Three Documents -- Political or Political-Military Organization, 30 Questions to a Tupamaro, MLN Regulations," Tupac Amaru editions, Printing Establishment No 3, Montevideo.
- 1446 1 September. A Molotov cocktail was thrown and five shots fired into the home of First Lieutenant Alberto Dario Grinoli Guarnieri.
- 1447 Disturbances occurred in the Faculty of Chemistry and the surrounding area. Groups of students threw rocks and Molotov cocktails at police personnel, wounding two police agents. Julio Cesar Sposito Vitali, an economics student, was also fatally wounded.



"Cell" in which Frick Davies was held in the final period of his kidnapping.

- 1448 1971 2 September. Two men and a woman belonging to the MLN-T wearing dustcoats treacherously fired on two GR agents, Soto Romero and Nelson Lima, on guard duty at the Pedro Visca Hospital, and then fled in a jeep.
- 1449 5 September. An effort to kidnap the under secretary of the interior, Armando Acosta y Lara, was frustrated.
- 1450 6 September. A guard officer at the under secretariat of the state mentioned above was wounded by a bullet.
- 1451 In an extensive operation involving tunneling, seizure of neighboring properties and the theft of vehicles, 106 members of seditious organizations and five common criminals escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison.²⁰⁰



Position in which the murdered police agent Ildefonso Kauslauskas was found in a public park.

- 1452 1971 Members of the CAT [Tupamaro Support Group] and groups of the MLN-T column 70, using the 26 March Independents Movement as a base, attacked two persons in the Cerro zone of Montevideo, set fire to two taxis and an urban passenger bus, interrupted traffic by setting up barricades and burning tires in the public thoroughfare.²⁰¹
- 1453 7 September. The minister of the interior stated, with regard to the escape described above: "This is a shameful thing, which can basically and without any doubt be ascribed to the penal authorities who have evidenced a tremendous lack of a sense of responsibility, professional incompetence and that they are intimidated and/or venal."
- 1454 The minister of national defense, for his part, said concerning the same incident: "Only with corruption in the highest degree could these things have happened."
- 1455 7 September. Ariel Collazo, "A Prized Reward," SUR, Montevideo.
- 1456 8 September. MLN, "For the Liberation of the Political Prisoners," Montevideo.
- 1457 9 September. The executive branch entrusted the pursuit of the antisubversive struggle to the military commands of the army, navy and air force, with the cooperation of the police.²⁰²
- 1458 An MLN-T group attacked the Inzaurrealde mimeograph firm at No 2070 Jose Catala Street, stealing two Gestetner brand electric mimeographing machines.
- 1459 10 September. At 2000 hours, British Ambassador Geoffrey Jackson, kidnapped the previous 8 January, was set free at the church of the Capuchin Fathers of St Francis of Assisi. Earlier, a seditious communique had announced that this would be done.
- 1460 15 September. The JCJ of the FFAA [Joint Commanders in Chief of the Armed Forces] approved resolution No 1, establishing the goals and the measures to be carried out pursuant to the 9 September decision of the executive branch.²⁰³
- 1461 15 September. The CEU [Uruguayan Bishops Council, with its president Carlos Parteli, Archbishop Coadjutor of Montevideo, and Auxiliary Bishop Andres M. Rubio, secretary, signing as its representative, "in view of the proximity of the elections which will have to take place in a particularly difficult period in our national history," formulated a public statement motivated by the desire to "contribute to the clarification of

- 1461 1971 the conscience of the people of God," stating the following:
 "We do not find sufficient reason to recommend, for it is not within our jurisdiction, nor to exclude as illicit a vote for any of the electoral programs (we are not referring to sub-programs) offered to the citizenry in the elections this year."²⁰⁴
 The statement then added that "a Christian cannot, without contradicting his faith, support Marxist ideology, its atheistic materialism, its dialectic of violence and the way it views individual freedom within the collective, denying at the same time any importance for man and his personal and collective history (Apostolic letter, 26). In view of these principles, it is obvious that "Christian" and "Marxist" are contradictory terms. "Nor can the Christian support, without contradicting his faith, the liberal ideology which exalts individual freedom by removing from it any limitations, encouraging it on a solely self-serving and power-seeking basis, and regarding social solidarity as more or less automatic consequences of individual initiative, and not as an end and the highest criterion in the value of social organization" (Apostolic letter, 26). "With regard to socialism, the historical development of which in the world offers various forms, it is necessary to establish the proper distinction to guide the choices of the Christian, and to determine the extent of the compromise possible along these paths" (Apostolic letter, 31). "The desire for a greater socialization of the means of production, in accordance with the requirements of the common good, is unquestionable." "Our people desire and want social renewal in order to overcome the current crisis, but in freedom and without violence, consistent with democratic systems. To the extent that new horizons are not opened up, it is necessary to recall what we bishops said in Medellin, speaking of all of Latin America: "There must be no abuse of the patience of the people which has tolerated for years a condition which would hardly be accepted by those with a greater awareness of human rights" (Med. Paz, 15), etc.
- 1462 16 September. The executive branch sent a draft law on control of the educational sector to the legislature.
- 1463 The British Ambassador, Geoffrey Jackson, held a press conference.
- 1464 19 September. A seditious group took over the Piedras Blancas Cinema at No 4250 Cuchilla Grande and promulgated a proclamation.
- 1465 23 September. The authorities discovered a tunnel under construction at the Miguelete Detention Establishment.
- 1466 25 September, Agrupaciones Rojas [Red Groups], "Serving the People," Montevideo.



First escape from the Punta Carretas Prison: opening linking one of the cells on the third floor with those on the second.

- 1467 1971 26 September. An escape attempt from the Miguete Prison was plotted, involving a tunnel linking various cells and three floors in one sector of the establishment, by means of which 14 prisoners had planned to flee.
- 1468 28 September. MLN-T members attacked the Coca Cola firm in Salto, stealing the equivalent of \$2,703.
- 1469 Seditious activists stole firearms from the Izaina ranch some 30 kilometers from Paso de los Toros in the Department of Tacuarembó.
- 1470 13 September. The police made a search of the premises at No 1542 Batlle y Ordóñez Avenue and found a seditious workshop for the manufacture of weapons. They seized projectile launchers of the Lanza T-3 type.
- 1470a 30 September. A police search led to the discovery of an MLN-T cell at No 1542 Propios Avenue.
- 1470b October. Zelmar Michelini, "Batllism and Antiimperialism," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.



First escape from the Punta Carretas Prison:
Outlet of another opening leading from one floor to another.



First escape from the Punta Carretas Prison:
sheets braided to serve as ropes.

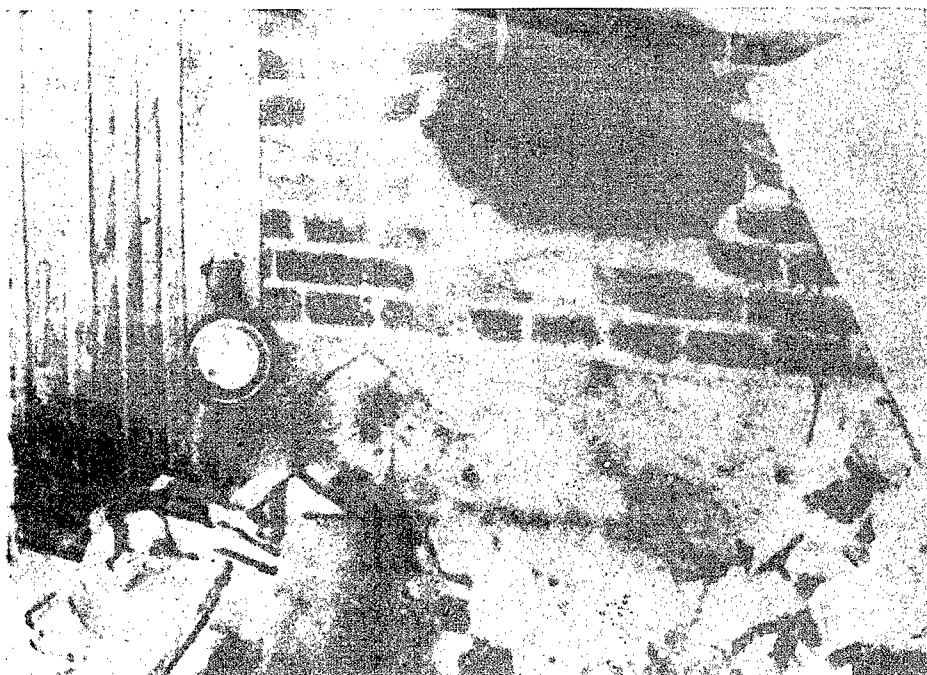
- 1471 1971 1 October. The Autonomous Local Council premises in La Paz, Department of Canelones, was attacked and some \$1350 stolen.
- 1472 A remittance office of the Paysandu Tax Office was robbed of the equivalent of \$5,454.
- 1473 8 October. Luis Fernandez Llado, who was kidnapped the preceding 18 August, was set free in the neighborhood of the Cerrito Church.
- 1474 During a search made by the police authorities of the Main University premises, a large quantity of subversive material was found and seized.
- 1474a 8 October. MLN-T, "The War Continues."205
- 1475 10 October. During a search made of the Faculty of Law Premises, the police found Molotov cocktails.
- 1476 A seditious group called the Che Guevara Armed Revolutionary Command attacked The Brighton firm at No 875 18 July Avenue, from which an accounting ledger was stolen.
- 1477 11 October. MLN-T members attacked a private home and stole a truck.
- 1478 A construction project of the Alvaro Palenga firm at Centenario Avenue and Londres was taken over by MLN-T members, who read a proclamation pertaining to the "8 October" event.
- 1479 Other MLN-T groups carried out similar actions at the Iron Works for Projects establishment at No 3461 Francisco Labandeira Street.
- 1480 The El Mago, S.A. establishment located at No 936 Colonia Street was attacked and the equivalent of \$4,053 stolen.
- 1481 Weapons were stolen from the home of Col Arturo Hector Miranda Picardo.
- 1482 12 October. Two MLN-T members wearing police uniforms and accompanied by two women subdued the official in charge of the Radio Sarandi transmitting station and attempted to broadcast a proclamation. They were unable to do so due to lack of technical knowledge, and then fled.
- 1483 13 October. A man and a woman took advantage of the good faith of the residents at No 3185 Juan Ortiz Street and stole a shotgun and two carbines.



First escape from the Punta Carretas Prison:
tunnel exit in the premises at No 2535 Solano Garcia Street

- 1484 1971 Two men and a woman stole a shotgun from the building at No 4435 Pasaje Central Street.
- 1485 15 October. Police Sgt Santos Alcides Ferreira Chavez was fatally wounded.
- 1486 During a search made of the Punta Carretas Prison, various MLN-T documents were seized.
- 1487 17 October. At the Punta Carretas Prison, the authorities seized a report pertaining to the relations between the FARO and the MLN-T and the negotiations with a view to the integration of the former in the latter.
- 1488 19 October. Carlos La Paz Caballero, a prisoner who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison on 6 September, was arrested along with other criminals in connection with a theft committed at a bar. His statement led to the discovery of the hideout at No 1494 Tayuya Street, where seditious activists Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres, Elida Baldomir Coelho, Jose Alberto Mujica Cordano, Luis Efrain Martinez Platero, Oscar Miguel Puig Iturralde and Ruben Bentancor Sanchez were arrested.

- 1489 1971 20 October. An MLN-T group, after entering the homes of the manager, the cashier and Col Fructuoso Rivera Guimaraes during the night, attempted to get into the basement of the treasury of the Colonia office of the BROU, in the Department of Colonia. They failed because the tools they were using proved inadequate to perforate the walls.²⁰⁶
- 1490 23 October. An OPR-33 group kidnapped the co-editor of the Montevideo newspaper EL DIA, Jose Pereira Gonzalez.
- 1491 25 October. MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, "From the MLN to the FFAA."
- 1492 MLN, "The MLN to the FFAA," Printing Establishment No 7, Montevideo.
- 1493 28 October. The co-editor of EL DIA, Jose Pereira Gonzalez was set free.
- 1494 30 October. The MLN-T disseminated a flier addressed to the members of the Armed Forces.
- 1494a November. Abraham Guillen, "The Critical Decade in Latin America," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 1495 November. MLN, EL MATRERO [The Cunning Soldier], No 3, Printing Establishment No 7, Montevideo.
- 1496 MLN, "Government Program," Tupac Amaru editions, Printing Establishment No 3, Montevideo.
- 1497 Walter Pedreyra, "The Ambush. Tales," Montevideo, Alfa.
- 1497a November. Vivian Trias, "Imperialism and Banking Excesses in Uruguay," Montevideo, Sandino.
- 1498 1 November. The premises of the CUTCSA passenger transport enterprise was attacked and the equivalent of \$27,027 was stolen.
- 1499 3 November. The remittance office of the Credit Bank at the 4.5 kilometer marker on Route 56, Department of Florida, was attacked and the equivalent of \$37,837 was stolen.
- 1500 5 November. Four men and two women took over the premises of the Rural Federation, painting MLN-T slogans on the walls and stealing the card index of members.
- 1501 8 November. An MLN-T group made up of eight men and two women attacked the Sapelli firm at No 3607 8 October Avenue, stealing the equivalent of \$6,800.



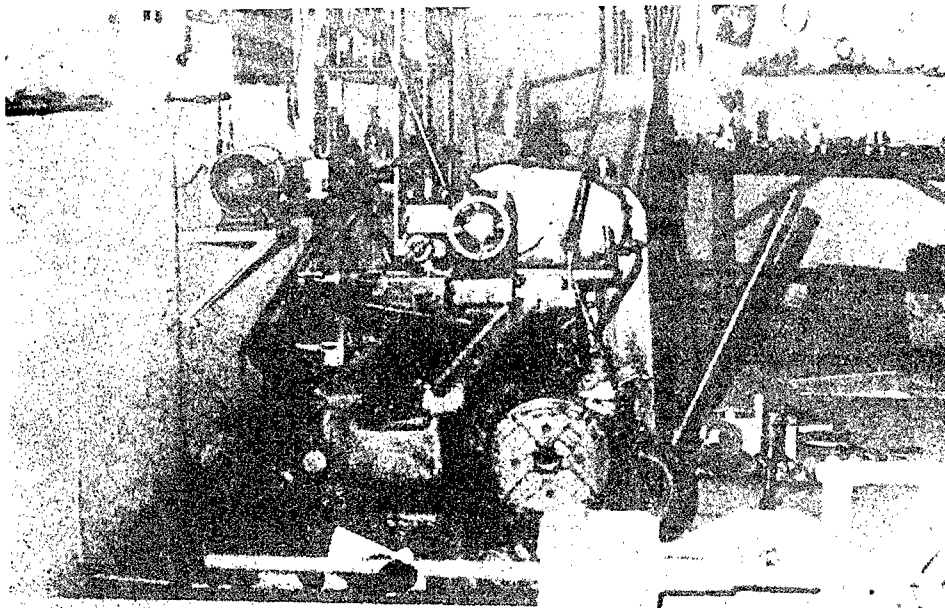
First escape from the Punta Carretas Prison:
passage outlet into the neighboring property of Joaquin Nunez.

- 1502 1971 15 November. During the morning hours, three men and two women belonging to the MLN-T attacked the El Mundo men's wear shop at No 4229 8 October Avenue and stole goods worth \$4,053.
- 1503 Toward midafternoon, a number of individuals, some of them wearing police uniforms, broke into the Park Hotel casino and stole the equivalent of \$46,622.
- 1504 16 November. The police arrested 12 members of the MLN-T, including fugitives from the Women's Prison and the Punta Carretas Prison, and located four bases of the seditious organization and sizeable quantities of literary material.
- 1505 26 November. Industrialist Jorge Berembau, who was kidnapped on 17 July, was set free.
- 1506 26 November. The police made a search of the ear, nose and throat clinic at No 1004 Tapes Street in Montevideo, to which, according to a statement by its proprietor, Negra Iparraguirre Rodriguez, an individual was brought toward the middle of the preceding month of September by Mario Bon Espasandin, a friend of hers, and deputy Ariel Collazo. She said he was introduced as Esteban Vila, a fugitive revolutionary, but turned out to be Mario Cesar Rossi Garretano, an escapee from the Punta Carretas Prison. A hideout was discovered in the premises of this clinic.

- 1507 1971 29 November. OPR-33 members kidnapped French journalist Michele Ray.²⁰⁷
- 1508 30 November. Four individuals attacked the premises of the Manzanares S.A. firm, located at No 3201 Cardal Street, and stole items worth \$81,060. The witnesses provided information making it possible to identify Carlos Alberto Cabrera Iguini as one of the group.
- 1509 1 December. Journalist Michele Ray was released by her "kidnappers."
- 1510 6 December. The FRT Report.
- 1511 16 December. The JCJ of the FFAA and the EMC was created on an experimental basis.²⁰⁸
- 1512 19 December. An MLN-T group made up of 15 men and one woman broke into the headquarters of the Taxi Office located at No 3143 Burgues Street, subduing the personnel and stealing 20 shortwave transmitter radios for taxis, B.H.F.
- 1513 22 December. At 0600 hours, the Golf Club premises were dynamited and burned, causing damage to the building and property estimated at about \$162,000.
- 1514 28 December. Seditious activist Carlos Hebert Mejias Collazo succeeded in escaping from the Punta Carretas Prison.
- 1515 28 December. The Economic Assistant at the Faculty of Agronomy, Jose Pedro Lopardo, resigned his post "to devote myself entirely," his statement said, "to the armed struggle."
- 1516 29 December. Three men and a woman attacked the Eneka, S.A. firm located at No 1113 Uruguay Avenue, taking, among other things, ten transmitter-receivers with an operational radius of between four and five kilometers.
- 1517 30 December. MLN, "Paysandu Proclamation."²⁰⁹
- 1518 1972 MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, Bulletin No 4, "We Are At War."
- 1519 1 January. MLN, "War Dispatches."
- 1520 6 January. A group of six members of the MLN-T wearing military uniforms, took over the Radio Sarandi station located at No 6061 Simon Martinez Road and broadcast a seditious proclamation for a 15-minute period.

- 1521 1972 10 January. Seditious activists stole the equivalent of \$29,800 from the municipal disbursements office.
- 1522 Seditious activists stole firearms and weapons from ANCAP [National Administration of Fuels, Alcohol and Cement] personnel.
- 1523 An effort by seditious activist Antonio Mas Mas to escape from the Tacuarembó Prison failed.
- 1524 19 January. While a street security operation was being carried out in Montevideo, a police vehicle made contact opposite No 2537 Jaime Zudanez Street with a light truck whose occupants opened fire, resulting in the fatal wounding of police cadet Heber Washington Castiglioni Castro. Seditious activist Antonio Paulo Gomez de Freitas Krug was arrested.
- 1525 26 January. The executive branch established norms pertaining to the dissemination of literary works for the purpose of maintaining the fidelity of any intellectual creation entering the realm of public knowledge, a principle repeatedly violated by various theatrical directors and groups for purposes of antinational and subversive propaganda.
- 1526 27 January. An MLN-T group assassinated the Security Chief at the Punta Carretas Prison, Inspector Rodolfo Leoncino, as he was waiting for a bus on the corner near his home.
- 1527 At 2200 hours, Ricardo Ferres Terra, who was kidnapped on 13 April 1971, was set free.
- 1528 28 January. An MLN-T group attempted to occupy the premises of the 27th Montevideo section police commissariat. An exchange of fire occurred, killing police agent Juan Francisco Godoy Gonzalez Fachin and wounding Sgt Walter Niebla Cabral, Cpl Epaminanda Sosa Lugo and police agent Alcirio Farias Techera.
- 1529 31 January. In a joint search made in the city of Artigas by police and military personnel, 17 persons were arrested, and a large quantity of MLN-T literature, sidearms and long barrel weapons and part of the money stolen from the Tacuarembó branch of the BROU were seized.²¹⁰
- 1530 February. MLN EL CHASQUE [The Hoax], No 3, "The Tatu Guerrilla Operation.
- 1531 2 February. Seditious activists attacked the home of the assistant commissioner of the Montevideo police, Oscar Delega Luzardo.

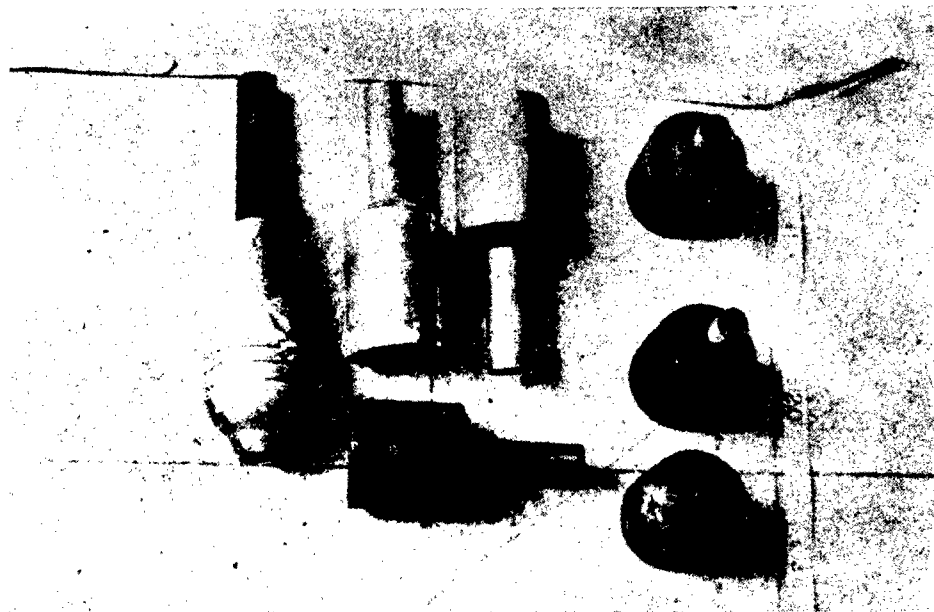
- 1532 1972 3 February. A confrontation occurred between the members of the MLN-T and police personnel in the Pocitos zone in Montevideo. Police Inspector Diamantino Malvarez and seditious activist Elbio Rivera Cabrera were shot and wounded.
- 1533 5 February. The executive branch sent a message to the Supreme Court of Justice pertaining to the difficulties and undesirable aspects, for security reasons, of interrogations in court premises of persons arrested for sedition, as well as the escapes occurring from such premises.



MLN-T weapons workshop searched on 30 September 1971.
View of an interior corner of the premises.

- 1534 9 February. Seditious activists made an attempt on the life of Punta Carretas Prison official Ruben D'Albenas Pirilo, who was wounded.
- 1535 10 February. At about 0700 hours, the Montevideo police commissioner, Jose Pedro Macchi, was attacked by an MLN-T group opposite No 1884 Vilardebo Street, during which encounter he was seriously wounded.
- 1536 11 February. In a search made jointly by the police and military personnel in Paso de los Toros, Department of Tacuarembó, 11 members of the MLN-T were arrested and tried. A certain number of bullets stolen from the Izaina ranch were recovered.

- 1537 1972. 12 February. Legislative deputy and editor in chief of the daily newspaper ACCION, Homero Farina Gianceschini, was kidnapped by MLN-T members.
- 1538 13 February. Police agent Rosibel Do Canto was shot at and wounded as he was riding his motorcycle along Estado de Israel Street during the morning hours. He died later at the Central Military Hospital, to which he was taken.
- 1539 13 February. In a surprise attack by an MLN-T group on the 8th police section commissariat in Soca, Department of Canelones, police officer Juan Manuel Sanchez Molinari and second agent Fernandez were killed and police agent Gonzalez Trias was seriously wounded. The participants in this attack included Henry Willy Engler Golovchenko, one of the members of the executive board of the seditious organization.²¹¹
- 1540 14 February. Two men and a woman belonging to the FRT entered the premises of the Medical Union on 8 October Avenue and Abreu and read a proclamation.
- 1541 Seditious activist Carlos Eduardo Cozzani Ruiz Diaz²¹² and Jorge Adalberto Episcopa Caporale²¹³ were arrested in Paso de los Toros.

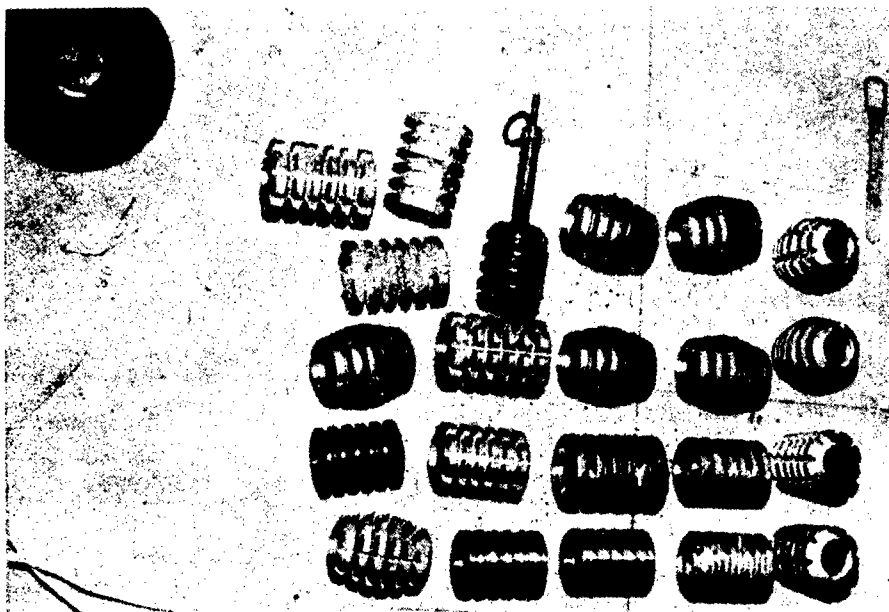


A part of the materials seized at the MLN-T weapons workshop.

- 1543 1972 18 February. The Supreme Court responded to a message sent by the executive branch on 5 February, stating that it did not agree to the taking of depositions by judges with jurisdiction in penal matters at the prison establishments in which the seditious activists scheduled to give evidence were being held.²¹⁴
- 1544 21 February. MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, "Message of the MLN to the Masters of the Lie."
- 1545 22 February. Seditious activist Mary Alicia Aiello de Bonesi was arrested in Salta.²¹⁵
- 1546 Four men and two women identifying themselves as members of the MLN-T read a proclamation from the facilities of Radio Artigas, located No 2370 Millan Avenue, referring to the assassination of Inspector Leoncino of the penal institution, the seizure of the 8th police section in the settlement of Soca and the 27th section in Montevideo, and the attack on Commissioner Macchi of the JPM.
- 1547 24 February. MLN-T elements kidnapped the Montevideo police photographer, Nelson Bardesio.
- 1548 24 February. The authorities located the MLN-T base situated at No 2413 Emilio Rana Street, and arrested six seditious activists, including Hector Amodio Perez.
- 1549 26 February. Two MLN-T members stole a Mahely carbine, an antique shotgun and ammunition from the building at No 8018 Coleman Road.
- 1550 Two men and a woman belonging to the MLN-T stole three shotguns of Belgian manufacture from the premises at No 3732 Valle Eden.
- 1551 28 February. Seditious activist Ibero Gutierrez Gonzalez was found dead, with various bullet wounds in the body, at Las Tropas and Melilla Roads, in Paso de la Arena. With the body the police found a handwritten paper reading "You, too, will ask pardon -- bullet for bullet, tooth for tooth -- CCT [Tupamaros Hunters Command]."
- 1552 29 February. During the night the editor in chief of the daily newspaper ACCION, Homero Farina, who had been kidnapped, was set free in the Maronas sector of Montevideo.
- 1553 2 March. Three men and a woman belonging to the MLN-T attacked the Tecno firm located at 2207 Fernandez Crespo, stealing a mimeograph machine valued at \$900.

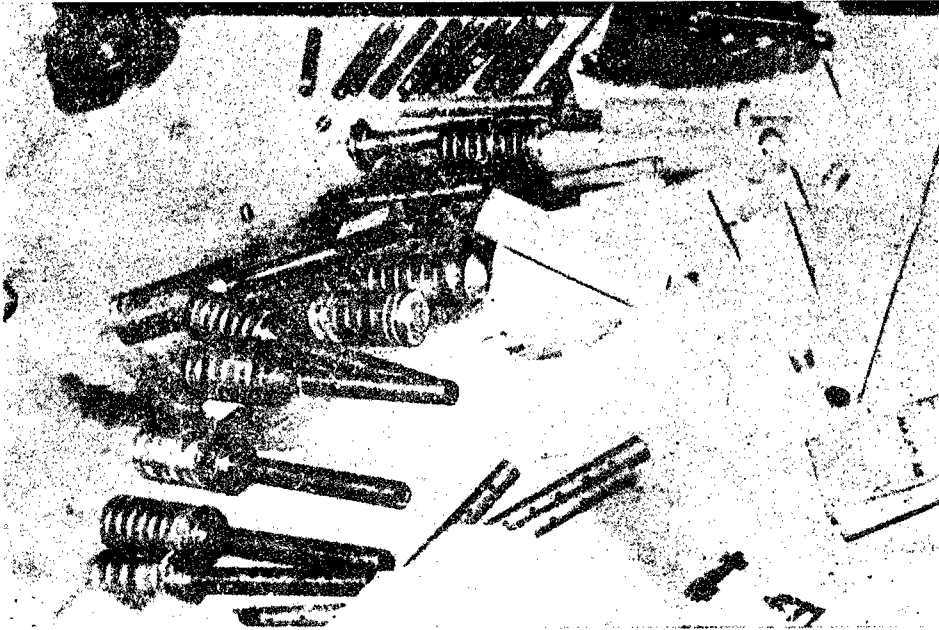
- 1554 1972 Unknown persons attempted an attack on a secondary school doctor, but were frustrated.
- 1555 2 March. Seventeen members of the MLN-T were arrested, including Jorge Washington Leiva Puig, a fugitive from the Punta Carretas Prison. Weapons, some of them belonging to the Naval Training Center, and some to the police, were seized.
- 1556 3 March. The FFCC [Carabineers' Force] located a hideout 3 kilometers from the Espinno site on Route 12, department of Lavallejo. Twelve long barreled weapons, 13 sidearms, 1,137 bullets of various calibers and 5 grenades were seized. Ruben Hector Garcia Bianchimano, who escaped from Punta Carretas Prison on 6 September of the preceding year, was arrested.
- 1557 4 March. Three seditious activist couples stole three vehicles from different properties in Montevideo.
- 1558 Three men and a woman belonging to the MLN-T attacked the House of Credit, located at No 2278 General Flores Avenue, and stole television sets, tape and radio recorders worth some \$2,000.
- 1559 The FFCC discovered a subterranean hideout at a property in the city of Salto, as well as three other properties serving as shelters for MLN-T members. They arrested seven persons and seized 18 long barrel weapons, 17 sidearms, 16 packages of explosives and ammunition.
- 1560 6 March. The La Llave Montevideo hardware store was attacked and selected tools worth \$500 were stolen.
- 1561 6 March. A shop at No 1963 Gonzalo Ramirez Street was robbed of clothing worth \$130.
- 1562 The FFCC found a hideout concealed in the wall of a house in Juan Lacaze, and they seized subversive documentation.
- 1563 In an area near the railroad in that same locality, the FFCC found a hideout and arrested four seditious activists. They seized seven long barrel weapons, four sidearms and bullets of various calibers.
- 1564 7 March. FA members in the Chamber of Deputies drafted a request to the Ministry of the Interior for reports on the reasons for the arrest of former legislator Ariel Collazo.
- 1565 8 March. Five seditious activists stole five vehicles from a garage at No 635 Juan B. Blanco Street in Montevideo.

- 1566 1972 A seditious activist was arrested while "visiting" the owner of the garage mentioned above.
- 1567 Three MLN-T members attacked a business located at No 871 Gil Street, stealing the equivalent of \$245.
- 1568 9 March. The General Assembly of the Legislature revoked the various executive branch decrees establishing emergency security measures.
- 1569 Six MLN-T members took over the CADHSA factory and read proclamations against the government to the employees.
- 1570 Three seditious activist couples stole three taxis in Montevideo.
- 1571 Molotov cocktails were thrown at two private homes.
- 1572 A group of seditious activists blocked streets in downtown Montevideo and burned tires.
- 1573 The FFCC arrested 17 members of the MLN-T in Mercedes, Department of Soriano, who admitted the existence of hideouts in eight homes, which were searched, resulting in the seizure of documentation, in particular, reports pertaining to military and police units.
- 1574 9 March. The executive branch sent to the parliament a draft state security law calling for the establishment in accordance with the steps taken by the new government, of a system to supplement the emergency security measures.
- 1575 12 March. Nine members of the MLN-T, who were later tried, were arrested in Bella Union. Literary materials of the MLN-T were seized in a search made jointly by police and military personnel.
- 1576 12 March. The Ministry of the Interior informed the Chamber of Deputies of the reasons for the arrest of former legislator Ariel Collazo.
- 1577 13 March. Five men and a woman took over an industrial establishment located at No 796 Republica Francesa Street in Montevideo, where they read a seditious proclamation to the employees, and then fled.
- 1578 Unknown persons robbed and destroyed facilities at the premises of the Baron de Rio Branco School in Montevideo during the night, causing damage estimated at some \$10,000.



Other items seized in the search of the MLN-T weapons workshop previously mentioned.

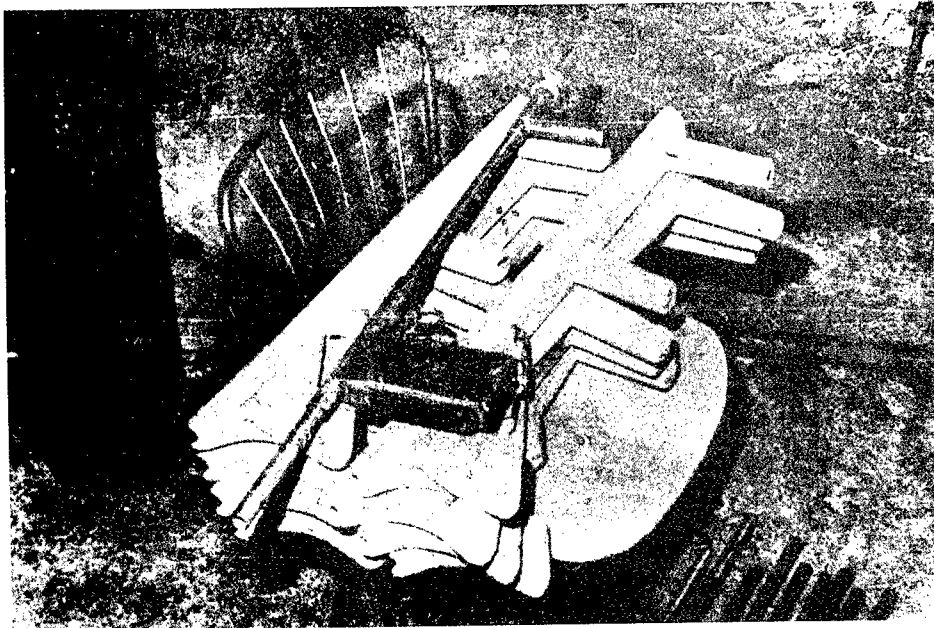
- 1579 1972 14 March. Bombs were thrown at three homes in Montevideo, one belonging to the director of the Damaso Larranaga Secondary School, causing damage estimated at \$1,600.
- 1580 Four men and two women took over the industrial establishment located at No 2734 Corrales Road in Montevideo and read seditious proclamations to the employees.
- 1581 Four seditious activists stole a private passenger car and a taxi in Montevideo.
- 1582 15 March. Two members of the MLN-T stole a vehicle in Montevideo.
- 1583 The UTE office at No 1733 San Fructuoso Street in Montevideo was attacked and the equivalent of \$1,000 stolen.
- 1584 15 March. Four members of the MLN-T took over the factory at No 1519 Libres Street in Montevideo and read proclamations to the employees.
- 1585 Six seditious activists attacked a business located at No 2414 Justicia Street, where a police agent intervened, killing one of the attackers, who in turn wounded a customer in the premises. The remaining activists fled.



Another view of the materials being manufactured in the MLN-T weapons workshop

- 1586 1972 A seditious activist who had escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison was arrested in the street as he was traveling by taxi through downtown Montevideo.
- 1587 16 March. The FFCC discovered a hideout at No 1431 Solis Street, where they arrested 12 persons and seized a profusion of MLN-T documentation.
- 1588 As OPR-33 members were attempting a robbery at the Paris Television commercial establishment, an exchange of shots developed with two police officers who entered the premises by chance on private business. Seditious activist Wilmar Alberto Martinez Dura was killed and Maria Rosa Mendez Diaz, the only woman member of that organization, was arrested.
- 1589 17 March. Four seditious activists stole two vehicles in Montevideo.
- 1590 Persons unknown threw Molotov cocktails into political clubs and a private home.
- 1591 Four seditious activists attacked the Montevideo business located at No 885 18 July Avenue and stole the equivalent of \$1,000.

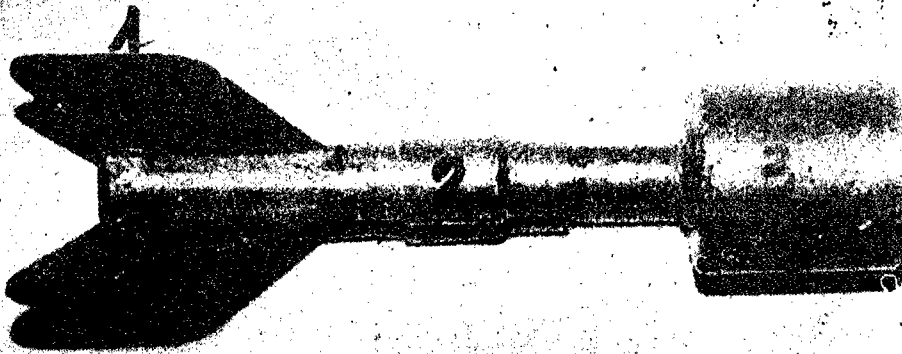
- 1592 1972 Carlos Martinez Moreno, "Security Law or Legalized Slaughter?",
MARCHA.
- 1593 19 March. The FFCC located an underground hideout at a
property in Bella Union, Artigas, and they arrested 10 MLN-T
members.
- 1594 20 March. Six MLN-T members took over the Borchestor, S.A.
textile plant located at No 2113 Millan Avenue, and read a
proclamation.
- 1595 Two unidentified persons attempted unsuccessfully to rob a
downtown Montevideo business.
- 1596 Incendiary bomb attacks were made upon two private homes.
- 1597 21 March. Unknown persons stole a vehicle in Montevideo.
- 1598 Five MLN-T members took over the factory at No 3078 Dulcinea
Street in Montevideo, and read proclamations.
- 1599 A soldier was shot at in the Fortaleza de Santa Teresa area,
Department of Rocha, but he was not harmed.
- 1600 A doctor was arrested in the city of Salto, after an under-
ground hideout was found in his home, from which seditious
documentation was seized.
- 1601 22 March. A police vehicle was stoned in front of the Faculty
of Veterinary Medicine, with the result that it crashed and
a police officer was injured.
- 1602 Seditious activists stole a taxi in Montevideo.
- 1603 23 March. Two MLN-T members stole the equivalent of \$400 from
the offices of the Parentini-Silva y Nario firm, located at
No 1474 Yaguaron Street.
- 1604 Three MLN-T members attacked the hotel located at No 2297
Espana Boulevard, stealing documents, checks and cash equivalent
to \$100.
- 1605 24 March. Four MLN-T members took over the factory at
No 1598 Colorado Street in Montevideo, gathering the employees
together and reading proclamations.
- 1606 Four members of the MLN-T stole two vehicles and, after
threatening them, left their drivers in sectors some distance
from Montevideo.



Samples of the Lanza T-3

- 1607 1972 24 March. Bombs were thrown at the premises of the New ACropolis School in Montevideo.
- 1608 24 March. The FFCC reported the discovery of the plans of the private home of the president of the republic, Juan Maria Bordaberry, in the possession of an MLN-T ringleader who was arrested.
- 1609 25 March. Several seditious activists attacked the business at No 1340 La Paz Street in Montevideo, stealing electrical and welding equipment worth \$1200.
- 1610 27 March. Five MLN-T members stole field equipment (cots, lanterns, knapsacks, canteens, etc.) from the firm located at No 1050 Uruguay Avenue.
- 1611 Two groups of seditious activists, operating separately, stole three vehicles.
- 1612 30 March. Seditious activists stole a propaganda vehicle with loudspeakers in Montevideo, and left it in the street with a recording being played.
- 1613 April. MLN, "The Committee for Aid to the Tupamaros," Ricardo Zabalza press, Montevideo.
- 1614 Victorio Maglione, "Tupamaros 72 -- Toward an Alternative Regime."²¹⁶

- 1615 1972 April. "Justice and Peace. Bishops Synod: Justice in the World, Paul VI: Message for the 'World Day of Peace.' Homily by Paul VI to Young People (1 January 1972)," National Social Communications Media Center, Salto, Sarandi, S.A.
- 1616 2 April. Three unknown persons attacked the garage at No 2572 Millan Avenue and stole a portable radio transmitter.
- 1617 3 April. A seditious activist, covered at a distance by four others, shot and treacherously and seriously wounded an officer of the Armed Forces at the door of his home. The activist then fled.
- 1618 A group of students set fire to an urban bus in front of the university.
- 1619 Persons unknown stole an automobile.
- 1620 3 April. Former deputy Ariel Collazo sent a letter to the president of the Chamber of Representatives, saying, with regard to his arrest that "... the Ministry of the Interior adduces that I am linked with sedition, which has never even remotely been proved, that I am a danger to public safety, because of statements which as a legislator I made on various occasions," etc.
- 1621 4 April. Two seditious activists entered the home of the assistant editor of the weekly AZUL Y BLANCO [Blue and White] and stole a carbine and a clock.
- 1622 Two groups of seditious activists operating separately stole two automobiles.
- 1623 4 April. The Chamber of Representatives stated that the response of the executive branch through the intermediary of the Ministry of the Interior on the reasons for the arrest of former legislator Ariel Collazo "does injury to the rights of this body," and sent to that ministry a report of the statements made in the chamber.
- 1624 5 April. The Creditop firm, located at 1500 Colonia Street in Montevideo, was attacked, and 7 television sets and radio-record players were stolen, valued at \$4,000.
- 1625 5 April. A rifle valued at \$50 was taken from a property in Montevideo.
- 1626 6 April. A seditious group stole an automobile.



Projectile for the Lanza T-3 Projectile Launcher

- 1627 1972 Molotov cocktails and coal tar bombs were thrown at the premises of the Brazilian Embassy in Montevideo and a passenger bus.
- 1628 Two members of the MLN-T stole the equivalent of \$350 from the offices of the Moore McCormack Uruguay Shipping Company at No 460 Rambla Roosevelt.
- 1629 7 April. Five automobiles were stolen from various points in Montevideo.
- 1630 An UTE collector was robbed of cash in the amount of \$400. In this incident, one of the five vehicles stolen a few hours earlier was used.
- 1631 7 April. The daily newspaper AHORA carried the letter sent by former deputy Ariel Collazo to the president of the Chamber of Representatives on the 3d of the month.
- 1632 8 April. Two groups, one of three and one of two persons, stole two taxicabs in Montevideo.
- 1633 9 April. Bombs were thrown at the homes of FA Senators Zelmar Michelini and Enrique Rodriguez, causing serious damage.

- 1634 1972 10 April. An MLN-T group attacked the Montevideo firm located at No 1357 18 July Avenue and stole items valued at \$560.
- 1635 11 April. Four members of the MLN-T attacked the business at No 2140 Acuna de Figueroa Street in Montevideo, stealing a lathe, emory stones and a mimeograph machine worth \$1900.
- 1636 Two seditious groups stole two automobiles in different parts of Montevideo.
- 1637 In the department of Soriano, the FFCC arrested the members of a group which made an attack on the life of an Armed Forces officer on the 3d of the month, except for the men who actually fired the shots.
- 1638 12 April. Five members of the MLN-T and 10 common criminals escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison by a tunnel which, dug in from the outside, connected with the sewer network, a repetition, although on a smaller scale, of the 6 September 1971 operation.²¹⁷
- 1639 14 April. A light truck was stopped by agents of the Carabineers at Millan Avenue and Las Violetas and its six occupants were arrested. Two of them were escapees from the Punta Carretas Prison.
- 1640 The executive branch ordered the Ministries of Interior and National Defense to adopt timely measures to guarantee vigilance at and the integrity of the establishments where persons arrested for subversive activities were being held, including authorization to equip other establishments suitably.
- 1641 Various groups of seditious activists stole five automobiles in the early morning hours.
- 1642 Toward 0800 hours, MLN-T members in two automobiles riddled a police patrol with machinegun fire at Rivera and Soca Streets, killing assistant Commissioner Oscar Delega Luzardo and police agent Carlos A. Leites and seriously wounding another policeman. This done, the assassins got out of their vehicles and fired at the officers lying on the ground, and then fled.
- 1643 At about 2100 hours, Lt Commander Enresto Motto was machinegunned in the settlement of Las Piedras, Department of Canelones, where he lived, from an automobile awaiting him in the sector. He died on the spot.
- 1644 At about 2300 hours, two snipers using precision rifles fired from the window of the second floor of the Protestant Church, at Constituyente and Barrios Amarin Streets, at Prof Armando Acosta y Lara, former under secretary of the interior, killing

- 1644 1972 him, wounding his wife and a police agent in his employ, as they left his home. The marksman then fled.
- 1645 The FFCC stopped a speeding truck at Francisco Pla and Nicolas Herrera Streets, whereupon its occupants took flight on foot, covering their escape with fire from sidearms and long barrel weapons, which was returned by the authorities. Two seditious activists and a police commissioner were wounded.
- 1646 The police searched the premises at No 1440 Amazonas Street. The occupants refused to heed the arrest order and opened fire, which was returned. Two of the seditious activists were killed, one wounded, and another was unharmed.
- 1647 Another property located at No 4392 Perez Gomar Street was searched, leading to an intensive exchange of fire in which seditious activists Jorge Candan Grajales,²¹⁸ Horacio Carlos Rovira Grieco, Gabriel Maria Schroeder Orozco²¹⁹ and Armando Hugo Blanco Katras²²⁰ were killed, and four others were arrested.²²¹
- 1648 In the two searches, 305,000 pesos in national currency and \$29,420 (making a total of some \$29,960) and voluminous MLN-T documentation were seized.
- 1649 14 April. MLN-T leader Juan Almiratti Nieto, who escaped on 26 May 1971 from a court building, was captured at Centenario Avenue and Propios.
- 1650 The executive branch asked the legislative branch for its agreement to a suspension of individual guarantees and the declaration of a state of civil war.
- 1651 15 April. Senator Enrique Erro read to the General Assembly photocopies of some "documents" drafted by the MLN on the basis of the "statements" which, according to the seditious organization, had been made by Nelson Bardesio, who had been held since his kidnapping the preceding 24 February, revealing the existence of a so-called "death squadron" or CCT which among other things was supposed to have kidnapped and murdered Hector Castagneto Da Rosa, whose "disappearance" was reported by the daily newspaper LA IDEA on 23 August 1971, etc. The general impression produced by this was that it involved a skillful maneuver on the part of the seditious organization to offset the public commotion aroused by the assassinations the preceding day, and to prevent the confirmation of the state of civil war sought by the government.

HABRA PATRIA PARA TODOS. O NO HABRA PATRIA PARA NADIE



**MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL
(TUPAMAROS)**

AYER: 8 DE OCTUBRE DE 1969.-UN COMANDO DEL M.L.N. COPA LA CIUDAD DE PANDO.- UN NUEVO PODER SE Oponia AL PODER DE LA OLIGARQUIA Y LIBRABA SU 1ra. GRAN BATALLA.- HOY: 8 DE OCTUBRE DE 1971, ALGUNOS DE LOS QUE DIERON ORDENES DE ASESINAR MILITANTES REVOLUCIONARIOS HAN SIDO AJUSTICIADOS O ESTAN EN LA CARCEL DEL PUEBLO.-LOS QUE EN AQUELLA OPORTUNIDAD FUERON DETENIDOS Y TORTURADOS HAN VUELTO A SUS PUESTOS DE LUCHA.- POR LOS CAIDOS, POR LOS TORTURADOS, POR LOS OPRIMIDOS. POR LOS DESHEREDADOS DE PAN Y TIERRA:

LA GUERRA CONTINUA.-
COMANDO PANDO-8 DE OCTUBRE

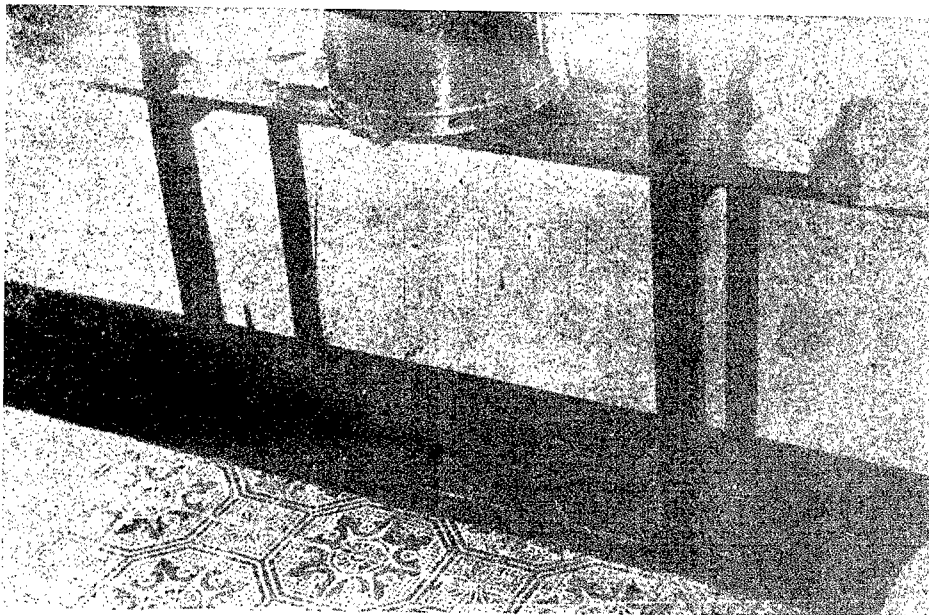
Front and reverse of the seditious flier dated 8 October 1971 (actual size) commemorating the Pando events. The text reads: "There will be a fatherland for all, or there will be a fatherland for no one. National liberation movement (Tupamaros). Yesterday, 8 October 1969, an MLN command seized the city of Pando. A new regime opposed the regime of the oligarchy and waged its first great battle. Today, 8 October 1971 [continued on following page]

[Text of flier continued from preceding page]

some of those who gave the orders to assassinate revolutionary militants have been executed or are in the people's prison. Those who were arrested and tortured on that occasion have returned to their posts of struggle. For those who fell, for the tortured, for the oppressed, for those deprived of bread and land -- the war continues. Pando Command, 8 October."

- 1652 1972 15 April. After an extremely long session, the legislature gave its consent to a 30 day suspension of individual guarantees in accordance with Article 31 of the constitution and a declaration of a state of civil war for the same period, in order to combat subversion and solely in terms of the provisions of Article 253 of the constitution.²²²
- 1653 The executive branch decreed the suspension of individual guarantees and a state of civil war, in order to repress the actions of individuals or groups entailing treason or conspiracy against the fatherland,
- 1654 Two seditious groups operating separately stole an automobile and a truck.
- 1655 Eleven bomb attacks were made against private homes in Montevideo.
- 1656 Three common criminals who had escaped along with various seditious activists on the 12th of the month were captured.
- 1657 15 April. The FFCC located various MLN-T bases in Montevideo, at the following addresses: No 1284 Brito del Pino, where the intelligence sector of the organization was located; No 2197 Chana; No 1323 Col Alegre; No 2194 Las Flores; No 1638 Caldas; No 5859 Friburgo; No 4131 Iglesias; and No 4228 Trapani. Four seditious activists were arrested.
- 1658 15 April. The FFCC and rural MLN-T groups clashed 2 kilometers north of the Saenz farm in the Department of Treinta y Tres. One seditious activist was killed and another wounded, and about a dozen more were arrested. The latter included fugitives from the Punta Carretas and Women's Prisons. Six long barrel weapons, a machinegun, 9 sidearms and about 1200 bullets were seized.
- 1659 16 April. "H. Castagneto Was Assassinated," EL POPULAR.²²³
- 1660 16 April. Communique No 1 of the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior declared the use of public force the exclusive

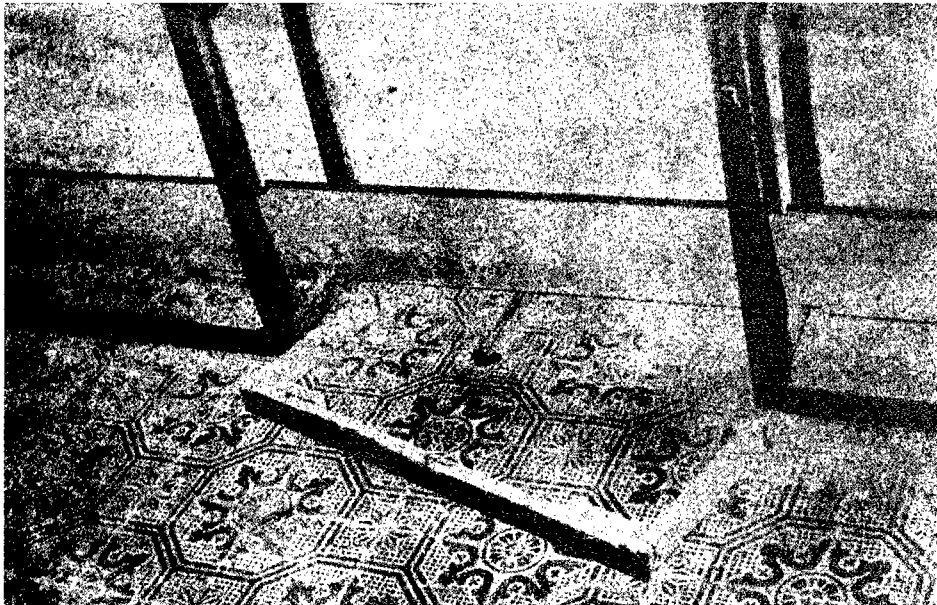
- 1660 1972 prerogative of the executive branch and denied the existence of any private organization which could claim for itself the authority reserved for the state.
- 1661 Communique No 2 of the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior urged the people to reveal information representing a threat to public order and safety.
- 1662 A seditious activist couple stole a vehicle in Montevideo.



Hideout at the Sanatorio ORL [Ear, Nose and Throat
Clinic at No 1004 Tapes Street

- 1663 Security Order No 1 of the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior prohibited any public information on subversive activities and military or police operations other than that coming from official sources.
- 1664 Communique No 55 of the Ministry of the Interior referred to the recognition due to police officers for carrying out their duty of guaranteeing public order and safety, and exhorting them to persevere in this task of safeguarding institutions.

- 1665 1972 17 April. One of the seditious activists who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison was captured in a public thoroughfare in Montevideo.
- 1666 The premises at No 5859 Friburgo Street were searched and a hideout containing abundant seditious documentation was discovered.
- 1667 17 April. The FFCC made a search of the area adjacent to a PC club in Montevideo, where a weapon which had apparently been thrown from the roof of the club was found. The occupants were then informed of this, and as they were emerging into the street, a shot struck Capt Wilfredo Busconi, who as in charge of the operation, in the head, wounding him seriously, and an exchange of shots then developed in which six members of the party referred to were killed.²²⁴
- 1668 18 April. In separate operations, three groups of two or three seditious activists each stole taxis and a private automobile.
- 1669 The Melilla Civil Aerodrome Base was fired on from an automobile.
- 1670 20 April. The FFCC searched four premises, arresting 10 seditious activists.
- 1671 Six seditious activists traveling on a public thoroughfare in an automobile were recognized and apprehended.
- 1672 The property at No 4259 Domingo Torres Street was searched, and a hideout was discovered. Copies of a map of the Montevideo sewer network system stolen early in the year from the office of the municipal intendant were seized, along with a large quantity of bullets of various calibers.
- 1673 20 April. The FFCC announced the seizure of a radio set adapted to receive armed forces communications.
- 1674 21 April. FER [Revolutionary Student Front]-68, LA ESTRELLA [The Star].²²⁵
- 1675 Security Order No 2 of the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior provided that the reporting of legislators' speeches must be limited strictly to the text of their statement.
- 1676 Security Order No 3 of the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior dealt with the observance of norms pertaining to the carrying and possession of weapons, explosives and dangerous chemical substances and the presentation of identity documents.



Removal of the frame and base of the bookcase which concealed the hideout at the clinic

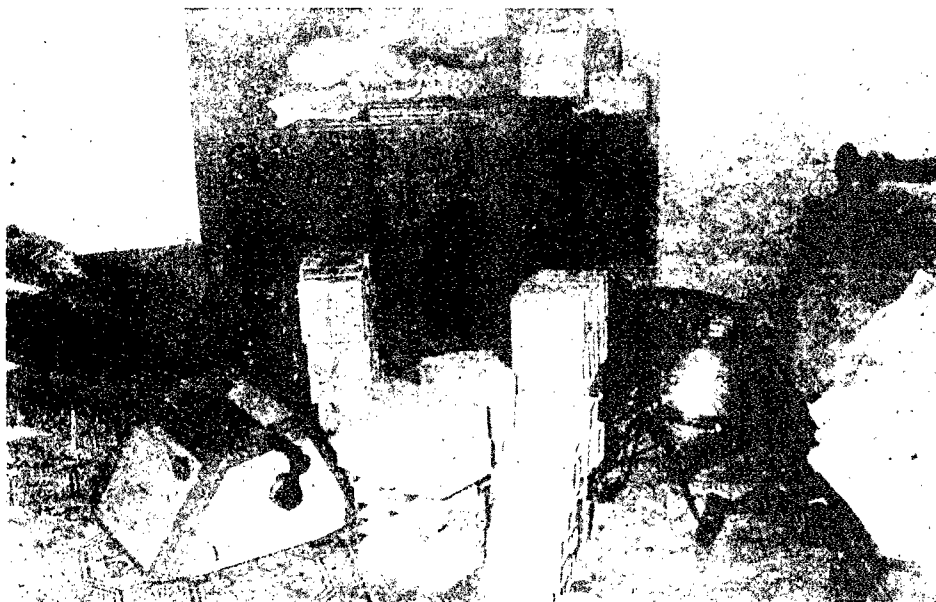
- 1677 1972 MLN, EL CHASQUE, No 6.
- 1678 A premise containing abundant subversive materials and sidearms and a turning workshop for the production of grenades was discovered on Monte Sosa Road, in the suburban sector of Montevideo.
- 1679 The FFCC arrested two fugitives from the Punta Carretas Prison in an operation carried out in the Department of Treinta y Tres.
- 1680 Security Order No 4 of the Ministries of National Defense and the Interior pertained to the exercise of the rights of assembly, association and trade union organization and prohibited any form of criticism of the decisions of the public authorities concerning antisubversive activities.
- 1681 23 April. Numerous members of the MLN-T column functioning in the interior attacked the control bridge located on Routes 2 and 24 near the city of Fray Bentos, Department of Rio Negro. They wounded a soldier and fled.
- 1682 24 April. MLN, "Communique -- The MLN Reports."
- 1683 Vehicles in downtown Montevideo were attacked, five of them being burned, causing serious damage.

- 1684 1972 The FFCC clashed with seditious activists in Dolores, Department of Soriano, Blanca Castagneto Da Rosa was killed and seven MLN-T members, including Emilio Exequiel Martinez Piriz²²⁶ were captured.
- 1685 24 April. The FFCC captured two seditious activists in Treinta y Tres.
- 1686 24 April. The FFCC reported the breaking of the code system used by the MLN-T, and confirmed that arms had been smuggled to that seditious organization from abroad.
- 1687 MLN-T members presenting themselves at his home invited Deputy and president of the Chamber of Representatives Hector Gutierrez Ruiz to accompany them, which he did without resisting.²²⁷
- 1688 25 April. Seditious activists stole a taxi in Montevideo.
- 1689 An UTE collector was robbed on a public thoroughfare of the equivalent of \$950.
- 1690 A seditious group stole sidearms from the Forensic Technology Institute.
- 1691 Deputy Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, who made statements to the effect that he had seen and talked with the kidnapped police photographer, Nelson Bardesio, was released.
- 1692 26 April. Three attacks were made upon homes of members of the JUP ["Uruguayan Youth on the March"].
- 1693 The FFCC arrested four seditious activists in the city of Dolores, one of whom was Roberto Vladimir Cabrera Garin.²²⁸
- 1694 The authorities apprehended four more seditious activists in the Department of Treinta y Tres and located a hideout in the rural zone in which they found weapons of various kinds and large quantities of medical supplies.
- 1695 27 April. In a clash in the city of Dolres with MLN-T elements initiated 2 days earlier, an officer and a soldier were wounded.
- 1696 Incendiary bombs were thrown at an automobile and four private homes in Montevideo.
- 1697 A leading figure in the MLN-T was arrested in the street in Montevideo.



Door of the hideout, seemingly a wall, opening inward.

- 1698 1972 The pencilcase belonging to British Ambassador Jackson was found at a Montevideo store.
- 1699 A cold storage firm truck carrying weapons and ammunition was stopped on the road near Trinidad, Department of Flores. Some of its occupants escaped and others were arrested.
- 1700 28 April. Seditious activists stole an automobile in Montevideo.
- 1701 Incendiary bombs were thrown at two vehicles in Montevideo.
- 1702 28 April. The premises at No 3460 Domingo Ordenana Street in Montevideo were attacked and a revolver, a shotgun and 300 bullets valued at \$535 were stolen.
- 1703 29 April. A seditious activist who returned secretly from Chile was arrested in Trinidad, Department of Flores.
- 1704 The FFCC found a hideout in the Rosario ravine, Department of Colonia, where they seized field equipment and medicine.
- 1705 One of the participants in the kidnapping of Jorge Berembau, an escapee from the Punta Carretas Prison, was arrested in Montevideo.
- 1706 29 April. The FFCC announced the seizure of a plan by the seditious organization to blow up the engine room and the fuel storage facilities at the UTE Batlle y Ordóñez Powerplant.



Part of the materials found during the search of the hideout referred to at 1004 Tapes Street

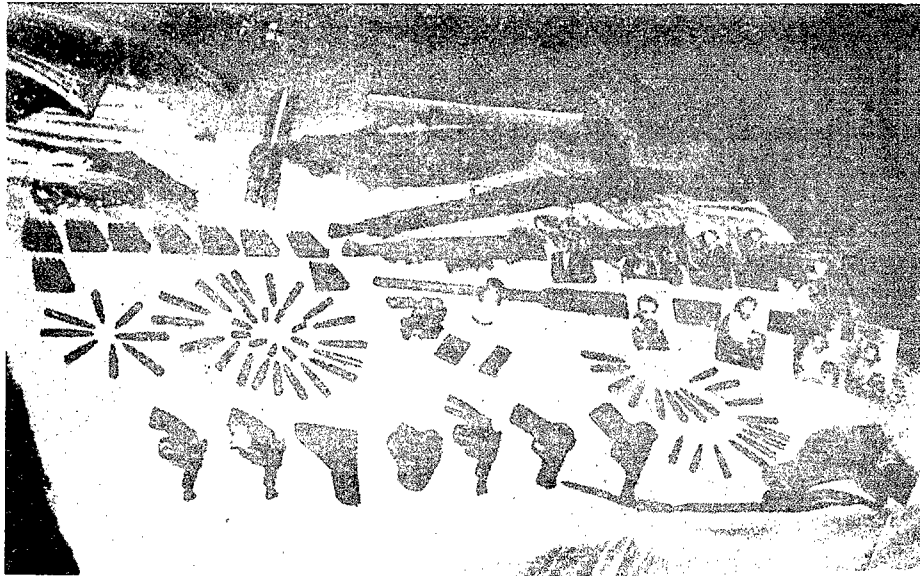
- 1707 1972 30 April. The executive branch declared the arrest of persons under the emergency security measures complete and confirmed the penalty of loss of liberty for those affiliated with the seditious organizations responsible for the state of civil war.
- 1708 MLN, EL CHASQUE, No 7, "Another and They Go..."
- 1709 30 April. MLN-T, "Report on the Plan for Attacking and Destroying the Armed Forces."
- 1710 Two members of the MLN-T who fled the truck which was carrying weapons on the 27th of the month were apprehended in the Department of Flores.
- 1711 May. "Public Order Law, Suspension of Individual Guarantees and State of Civil War," statements by the minister of the interior, Alejandro Ravira, in connection with the treatment of these subjects in the General Assembly and Legislative Commissions, Montevideo, Ligu, S.A., Ministry of the Interior publication.
- 1712 ESTUDIOS [Studies], No 63, Organ of the Executive Committee of the PCU, Montevideo, March-May.
- 1713 Paulo Freire, "Education as the Practice of Freedom," foreword by Julio Barreira, Montevideo, Tierra Nueva.



The French "journalist" Michele Ray, wife of film director Costa Gavras, poses in the OPR-33 "prison."

- 1714 1972 2 May. Four MLN-T members attacked the laboratory at No 2030 Yaguaron Street in Montevideo, stealing an index of the national medical body, including 3,000 cards, and a mimeograph valued at \$950.
- 1715 A seditious activist who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison was captured in the environs of Trinidad.
- 1716 2 May. The FFCC announced the existence of a department of the seditious organization for intelligence among the Armed Forces, called the SIFA.
- 1717 4 May. The private homes of an army captain and an engineer were attacked and four sidearms and a sum equivalent to \$85 were stolen.
- 1718 Several MLN-T members attempted to kidnap Dr Julio Federico Morato Manara as he was arriving at his home, and when he resisted, they shot him pointblank in the head, killing him, and fled.
- 1719 5 May, MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO,
- 1720 MLN, EL CHASQUE ORIENTAL [The Uruguayan Hoax].²²⁹

- 1721 1972 At No 3244 Tomas Gomensoro Street in Montevideo, a hideout was found beneath the floor, containing wigs, a mimeograph and voluminous subversive documentation. Two members of the MLN-T were arrested.
- 1722 6 May. Incendiary bombs were thrown at a garage for military vehicles.
- 1723 The FFCC discovered an underground hideout on the banks of the Itacumbi ravine, Department of Artigas, in which foodstuffs, clothing and a large volume of photographic materials pertaining to aerial surveys of numerous zones of the country were stored.
- 1724 6 May. The FFCC reported the discovery of "Operation Telex," planned by the seditious organization to obtain resources by defrauding banking institutions, importing and/or exporting firms and state bodies using such services for their trade and industrial relations with foreign countries, by means of intercepting telephone information on the movement of funds, etc.
- 1725 The FFCC reported discovery of the CAI [Committee for International Affairs] and its mission of obtaining support from extremist international movements.
- 1726 7 May. The FFCC arrested nine members of the MLN-T in the city of Carmelo, Department of Colonia.
- 1727 In an operation carried out by the FFCC in the city of Durazno, two MLN-T bases were located and some 40 persons were arrested, including prison escapees Daniel Camilo Guinovart Tonelli, Juan Jose Dominguez Diaz, Hector Eduardo Juambeltz Rodriguez, Carlos Venancio Etchedo Acosta and Santa Nelida Fontoura Santos de Gonzalez.
- 1728 8 May. MLN-T courier Jose Ruben Bottaro Giordano²³⁰ was brought from Buenos Aires, where he was arrested the preceding day. His statements led to confirmation of the relations between the Uruguayan seditious organizations and its counterparts in Argentina, especially the EPP, and the plans for such affiliations.
- 1729 9 May. A Ministry of the Interior circular to the chiefs of police established the subordination of police forces to the corresponding military region for the execution of antisubversive operations, without prejudice to their normal duty.

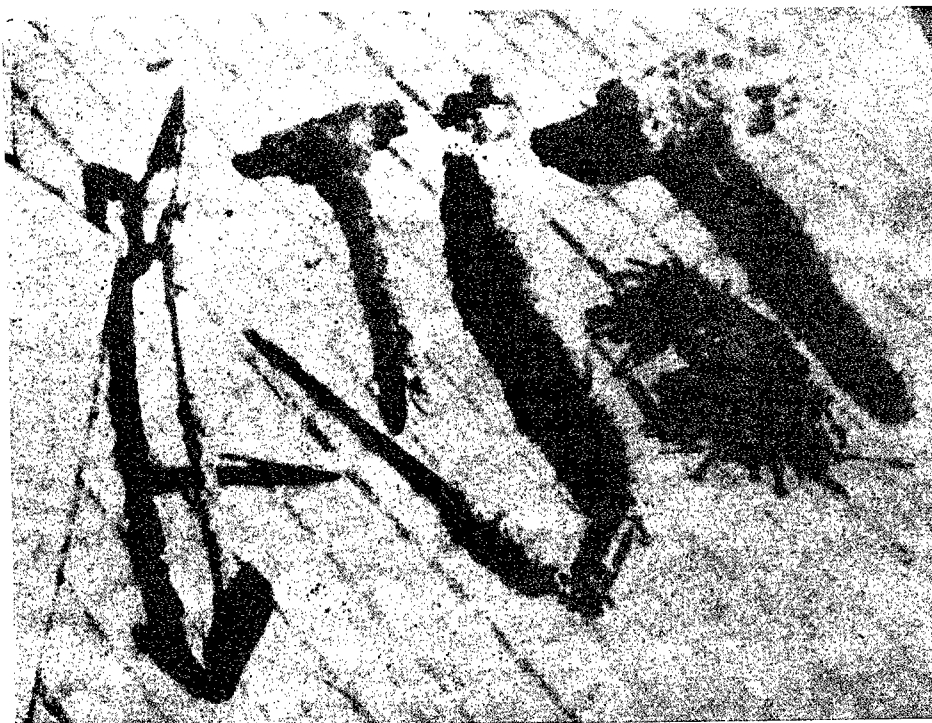


Part of the materials seized at a hideout in the city of Artigas, among which one can see photographs of the kidnapped victims.

- 1730 1972 The FFCC located and blockaded a number of MLN-T members at the El Tacho ranch in the Bequela zone, Department of Soriano, and also in the city of Durazno and the Santa Bernardina zone, in the same department, including seditious activist Mario Arquimedes Piriz Budes.²³¹
- 1731 10 May. A series of incendiary bombings of nine private homes in Montevideo occurred, causing damage in the millions.
- 1732 10 May. JPM officer Miguel Angel Benitez Segovia was tried on evidence of his affiliation with the MLN-T.
- 1733 11 May. The executive branch asked the legislature for an extension of the state of civil war and suspension of individual guarantees.
- 1734 A seditious group kidnapped Sergio Molaguero Brescio, the son of an industrialist in the shoe industry, from the automobile in which he was traveling from Santa Lucia in the Department of Canelones toward Montevideo.
- 1735 In a clandestine communique released a few hours later, the OPR-33 claimed credit for the kidnapping.
- 1736 In various operations, five MLN-T members, including one woman, Santa Nelida Fontora Santos de Gonzalez²³² were arrested in Durazno.

- 1737 1972 11 May. The FFCC located a sizeable underground hideout at the property located at No 5808 Lezica Avenue, Villa Colon, in the Montevideo urban zone, for which the Quimica Colon chemical products factory was the front. It contained beds and facilities for nine persons. Some thousands of bullets, hundreds of aerial photographs and abundant medical supplies were seized, and organization member Joaquin Lazaro Constanza Ruiz²³³ was arrested.
- 1738 12 May. Seditious activists stole two vehicles.
- 1739 An MLN-T attacked the residence of a doctor in Montevideo, stealing sidearms and a slide projector.
- 1740 Rebel groups set up barricades in front of the university, burned three automobiles and caused major disturbances.
- 1741 15 May. Incendiary bombs were thrown at two private homes and a political club.
- 1742 The FFCC found an underground hideout connecting directly with the sewer network in an apartment at No 3099 Joaquin Nunez Street, across the street from the Punta Carretas Prison.
- 1743 Fourteen MLN-T members were captured in the Department of Treinta y Tres.
- 1744 15 May. During the nighttime hours, police photographer Nelson Bardsio, kidnapped the preceding 24 February, was set free.
- 1745 16 May. Seditious activists stole four automobiles in Montevideo.
- 1746 Molotov cocktails were thrown at two homes in Montevideo.
- 1747 Seven seditious activists attacked a leather goods factory, stealing garments and television sets worth \$3,676.
- 1748 The FFCC discovered a hideout in the Punta Colorado zone, Department of Maldonado, where they seized foodstuffs and voluminous documentation, including the plans for the attack on the Piriapolis Casino. Nine MLN-T members were arrested.
- 1749 The FFCC located an underground hideout of the seditious organization on Route 8, on the Olimar River, in the Department of Treinta y Tres.
- 1750 An underground hideout, with one cell, was discovered in the city of Treinta y Tres.

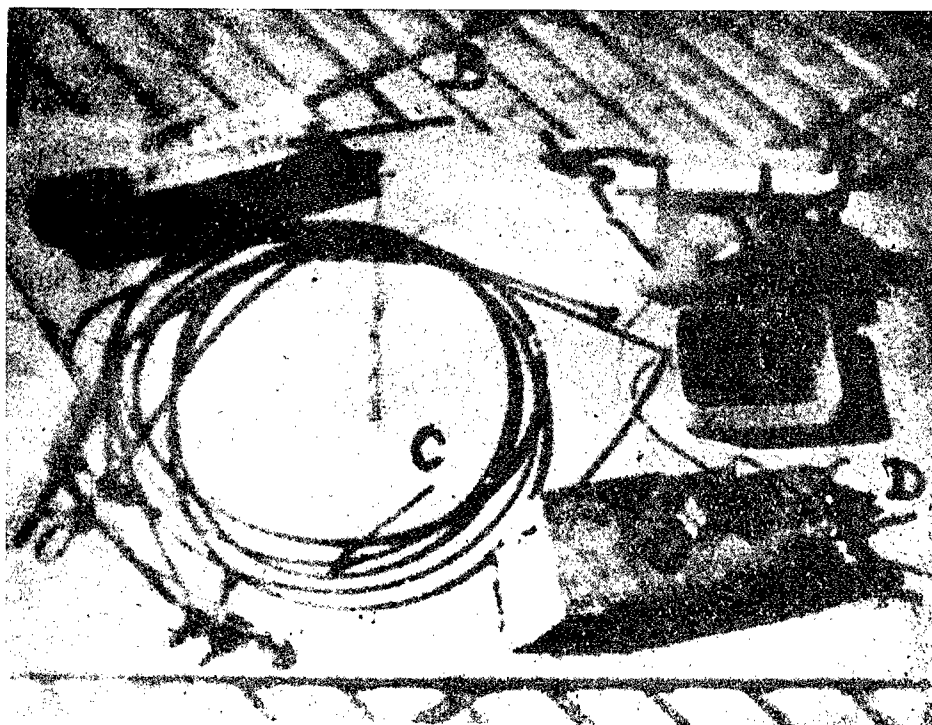
1751 1972 16 May. An installation for producing falsified documents was discovered in a premise in the same city.



Second escape from the Punta Carretas Prison -- tools abandoned in the sewers by the seditious activists

- 1752 Seditious activist Luis Mario del Castillo Larrazabal was arrested in Salto.²³⁴
- 1753 17 May. Circular No 8 of the Ministry of the Interior to the chiefs of police pertained to the police task of preventing and repressing subversive activities and respect for juridical norms and the rights of individuals.
- 1754 Seditious activists stole four automobiles in Montevideo.
- 1755 Molotov cocktails were thrown at 12 homes in Montevideo.
- 1756 The Santa Lucia Transportation Enterprise, located at Uruguay and Yaguaron Streets in Montevideo, was attacked and the equivalent of \$4,963 stolen,
- 1757 Two other MLN-T couriers were arrested, making it possible to confirm the activities of the CAI and to determine the extent of the relations between the Uruguayan seditious organization and those in Argentina, the FAL [Argentine Liberation Front],

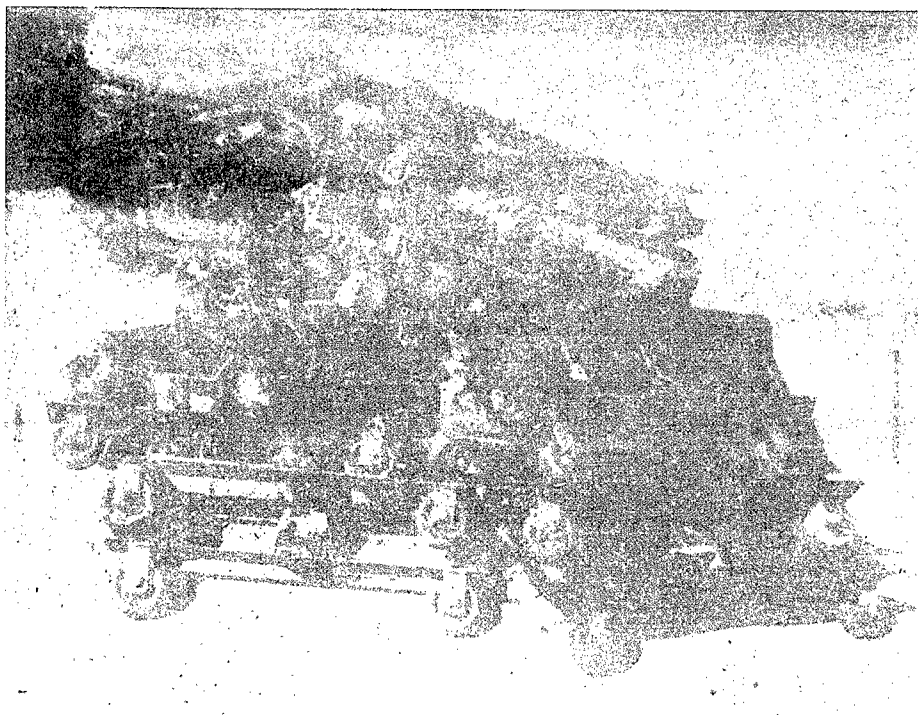
- 1757 1972 ERP [Revolutionary People's Army] and the FAP [Peronist Armed Forces], and with the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] in Chile.
- 1758 18 May. On Armed Forces Day, four soldiers, Saul Correa Diaz, Osiris Nunez Silva, Gaudencio Nunez Santiago and Ramon Jesus Ferreira Escobal, who were on guard duty in a jeep in front of the home of the commander in chief of the army, were machinegunned in cowardly fashion from a truck manned by MLN-T members.
- 1759 Several MLN-T members kidnapped a policeman, who succeeded in escaping from the automobile in which they were taking him away. He was wounded in the arm.
- 1760 Molotov cocktails were thrown at five private homes.
- 1761 The FFCC intercepted messages being passed among various MLN-T cells.
- 1762 An underground hideout was discovered at the property at No 2916 Mariano Moreno Street in Montevideo. One seditious activist was arrested and a large number of sidearms and long barrel weapons were seized.
- 1763 19 May. Seditious activist stole three vehicles in various parts of Montevideo.
- 1764 An underground hideout containing weapons and a large quantity of photographic materials for the production of documents was found at No 1425 Nicaragua Street in Montevideo. Nine seditious activists were arrested.
- 1765 19 May. Weapons were seized at the property located at No 4270 Propios Road.
- 1766 An MLN-T leader who had escaped from the Women's Prison was arrested in the sewer network.
- 1767 19 May. Seven MLN-T members were arrested in San Jose.
- 1768 The FFCC warned the public about the system used by the MLN-T for obtaining information on premises and their residents through false survey-takers, with a view to subsequent robbery, etc.
- 1769 20 May. Molotov cocktails were thrown at ten private homes in Montevideo.



Second escape from the Punta Carretas Prison: A -- "Cazabobos" -- type of camouflage timed explosive device; B -- paper showing that the bomb is on safety; C -- cable for fastening down the sewer pipe cover; D -- remains of another explosive artifact.

- 1770 1972 Seditious activists stole a taxi in Montevideo.
- 1771 A hideout equipped with a radio transmitter, foodstuffs, clothing and medical supplies was discovered on the Queguay River in the Department of Paysandu.
- 1772 A seditious activist couple living in a sumptuous apartment at No 1420 Arenal Grande Street were arrested, and weapons of various calibers seized.
- 1773 21 May. An incendiary bomb was thrown at a private home.
- 1774 The FFCC discovered two hideouts in the Department of Rocha, one in Los Indios park, where numerous sidearms and long barrel weapons were seized, and another on the Cebollati River, where packets of gunpowder and tools were found. As a result of the subsequent investigations, 14 seditious activists were arrested.
- 1775 22 May. Seditious activists stole two vehicles in Montevideo.

- 1776 1972 Molotov cocktails were thrown at four private homes in Montevideo.
- 1777 An attempt was made to set fire to a bus in Montevideo, and a soldier who intervened to prevent the crime, was wounded.
- 1778 MLN-T members attacked the El Mago store in downtown Montevideo and stole the equivalent of \$1,838.
- 1779 A hideout was discovered in the cellar of the premises at No 2163 Constitucion Street in Montevideo, which connected with sewer networks and had concealed entrances and an opening to the outside. It contained a cell and explosives were seized.²³⁵
- 1780 Another underground hideout was discovered at No 3671 Cubo del Sur Street. Nine thousand bullets of various calibers, side-arms and long barrel weapons, as well as a large quantity of surgical materials, were seized.
- 1781 A new underground hideout was found at No 5211 Lisboa Street in Montevideo, containing weapons and ammunition.
- 1782 An MLN-T member resisted a soldier in Salto, wounding him, but he, too, in turn was wounded and unable to escape.
- 1783 23 May. Another seditious hideout containing weapons was discovered at No 2255 Luis A. de Herrera Street in Montevideo.
- 1784 23 May. A large underground room was discovered under a business firm at No 3493 Coraceros Street in Montevideo, containing a complete medical installation: x-ray equipment, surgical equipment for operations on the thorax, abdomen and the treatment of wounds, three recovery cots, alarm system, etc.
- 1785 24 May. Molotov cocktails were thrown at five political clubs in Montevideo.
- 1786 A large and perfectly camouflaged hideout was discovered at the 113 kilometer marker on Route 9, near Pan de Azucar, Department of Maldonado, within the Spartacus ranch. It had a firing range, an alarm system, escape outlet, etc.²³⁶ Nine members of the MLN-T were arrested there. In the same field, another hideout equipped with a cell was found.
- 1787 Six MLN-T members were arrested in an apartment at No 1784 Agraciada Avenue in Montevideo, and at No 3082 Manuel Haedo Street. In the latter premises, a tunnel connecting with the sewer network was discovered, and sidearms, long barrel weapons and a bazooka were seized.

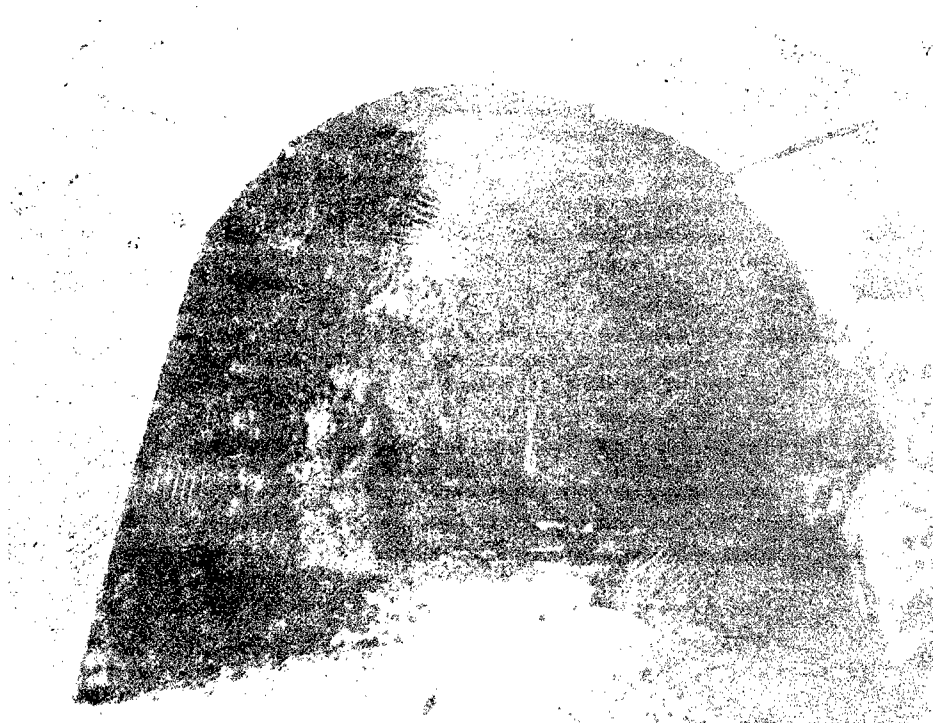


Second escape from the Punta Carretas Prison -- little carts used to slide through the sewer network

- 1788 1972 25 May. Circular No 10 of the Ministry of the Interior to chiefs of police dealt with information on problems and needs affecting the community.
- 1789 An automobile was stolen in Montevideo.
- 1790 A home was robbed of the equivalent of \$22.
- 1791 A subterranean hideout was found near the Maronas Hippodrome in Montevideo, where 32 portable radio transmitters and a large amount of electronic materials were seized.
- 1792 Four MLN-T members were apprehended at the premises at 3082 Manuel Haedo.
- 1793 Two members of the MLN-T were apprehended in the premises at No 1151 Arquimedes Street, in Montevideo, where medical materials and substantial documentation were seized,
- 1794 The first meeting of the High Command of the FFAA and the JCJ was held.²³⁷
- 1795 26 May. Seditious activists stole an automobile in Montevideo.

- 1796 1972 Molotov cocktails were thrown at four homes in Montevideo.
- 1797 A private home was attacked in Montevideo and one long barreled weapon and two sidearms were stolen.
- 1798 Another Montevideo premise was attacked and the equivalent of \$294 stolen.
- 1799 A hideout behind a double wall was found in the house at No 2210 Joaquin Requena Street, in which 32 of the fragmentation grenades stolen from the Naval Training Center were seized, along with 10 sidearms and a large volume of MLN-T documents.
- 1800 27 May. Incendiary bombs were thrown at four private homes in Montevideo.
- 1801 The MLN-T "people's prison" was discovered beneath the ground at No 1192 Juan Paullier Street in Montevideo. The entrance was through a narrow tunnel in the garage of the premises, concealed by a moving ramp installed beneath the sewer cover. Carlos Frick Davies and Ulises Pereira Reverbel, who were kidnapped a year earlier, were rescued, and four seditious activists serving as their jailors were arrested. The underground prison had a ventilation system and three cages of wire netting 1 meter by 2 meters each. Yet another tunnel leading down toward the sewer network had been begun. Those arrested included Oscar Hector Bernatti Vener.²³⁸ As cover, the premises were inhabited by a couple living a seemingly peaceful life there with their two small children and arousing no suspicion in the neighborhood.
- 1802 Communique No 58 of the Ministry of the Interior dealt with the discovery made in the early morning hours of a "people's prison" by the FFCC, and the rescue of two kidnapped citizens who had been held there.
- 1803 28 May. Four incendiary bomb attacks were made upon private homes and political clubs in Montevideo.
- 1804 A large number of hand grenades were found concealed in a double bottom cistern at the pharmacy on Ibicuy and Maldonado Streets in Montevideo. Four seditious activists were arrested.
- 1805 Two hideouts, both concealed between two walls, were found, one at the premises at No 1780 Tacuarembó Street and one at No 487 Enrique Munoz Street. They contained sidearms, bullets, communications equipment and documentation, and six members of the seditious organization were arrested.

- 1806 1972 A search was made of secondary night school No 17 in Montevideo, and a room containing subversive materials was found,
- 1807 29 May. Various Molotov cocktail attacks were made upon private homes in Montevideo.
- 1808 30 May. In a surprise action coordinated by groups of persons who fled speedily, several automobiles were set afire in the downtown streets of Montevideo.
- 1809 Incendiary bombs were thrown at political clubs, private homes and an automobile, causing considerable damage.



Second escape from the Punta Carretas Prison -- outlet of the Montevideo sewer network to the sea under No 614 Rambla Costanera [Coastal Beach]

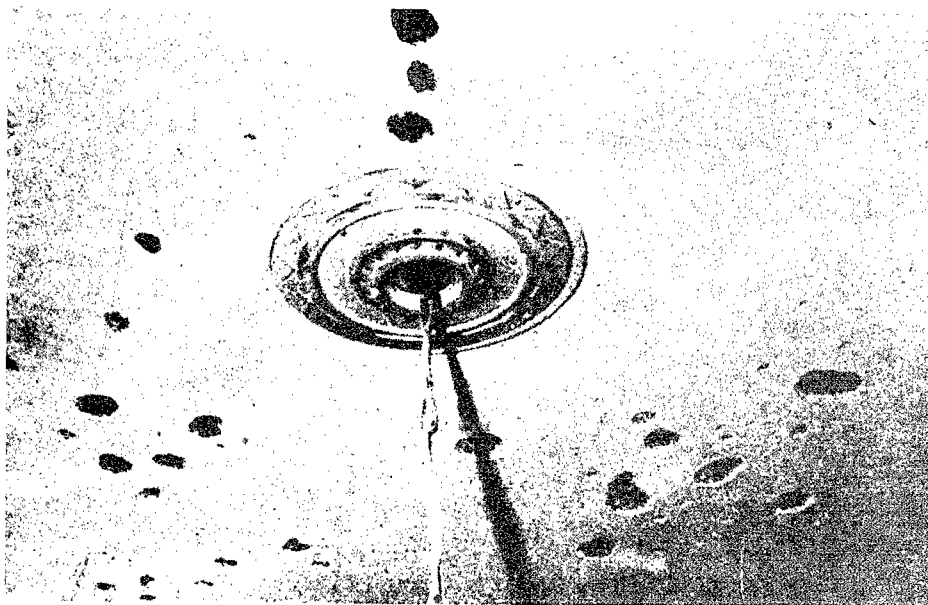
- 1810 30 May. A subterranean hideout used for guerrilla warfare training classes was located at No 3562 Genova Street in Montevideo. It had a tunnel some 30 meters long allowing target practice with blanks in a horizontal position.
- 1811 Another perfectly camouflaged hideout was discovered at No 5 Oficial Street in Montevideo, where the plans of police establishments, uniforms, two machineguns, 7 sidearms, 2,223 bullets and thousands of aerial photographs of the entire country were seized.



Second escape from the Punta Carretas Prison -- poster left in the sewer network by the fugitives to slow pursuit. The text reads: "Sewers Mined."

- 1812 1972 31 May. Communique No 59 of the Ministry of the Interior pertaining to the preceding day's riot in downtown Montevideo, which culminated in the burning of vehicles and other destruction.
- 1813 An underground hideout was found in a house at No 395 Dionisio Coronal Street in Montevideo, and 15 long barreled weapons, 3 sidearms, 8 fragmentation grenades and 180 others in the process of manufacture were seized, as well as a large quantity of ammunition of various calibers.
- 1814 The minister of the interior sent a written invitation to the university, asking the rector and deans of the faculties as its representatives to pay a visit on 7 June to the "People's Prison": "Because of the importance of transferring to the new generation," the invitation said, "of the system of ideas concerning life and man, values which are basic to the culture which is of interest to the activities of this educational institution, so that it is important to understand and directly appreciate the concept revealed by these values, which kept two citizens deprived of their freedom for the period of more than a year, as can be deduced from the conditions in which that imprisonment took place."

- 1815 31 May. The FFCC [Carabineers' Forces] arrested 20 members of the MLN-T in the city of Melo, Department of Cerro Largo.
- 1816 1 June. Three underground hideouts at No 2072 Carlos Berg Street, 194 Copiapo Street and 9 Oficial Street in Montevideo were found, and 63 grenades, 29 of the clocks stolen from the National Pawnshop Fund and large numbers of sidearms and long barreled weapons were seized, and four members of the MLN-T were arrested.
- 1817 The Carabineers' Forces arrested 20 members of the Melo column of the MLN-T in the Department of Cerro Largo.
- 1818 A similar operation was carried out in the Department of Maldonado, in which seven members of the seditious organization were arrested.

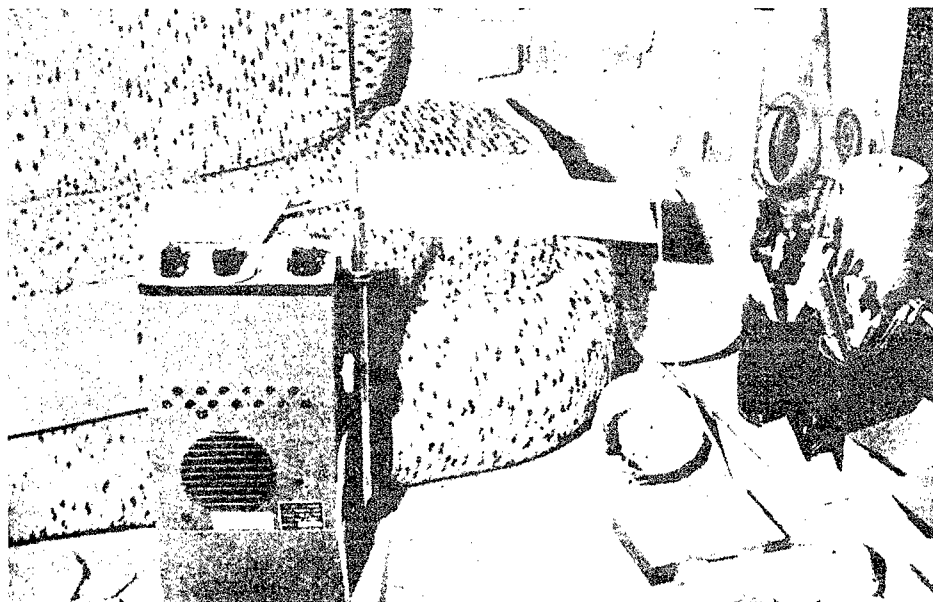


Bullet holes in the ceiling of the living room of the hideout at No 1440 Amazonas Street searched on 14 April 1972.

- 1819 Fourteen incendiary bomb attacks were made upon the private homes and political clubs in Montevideo.
- 1820 2 June. A seditious hideout was found at No 4937 Tornelli Street in Montevideo.
- 1821 3 June. Molotov cocktails were thrown at six private homes and political clubs in Montevideo.

- 1822 A guerrilla training center was discovered in the city of Pando and three seditious activists, two of them professionals, who said they were in charge, were arrested.
- 1823 4 June. An entirely cement-lined hideout was found beneath a shed at No 5628 Ariel Road in Montevideo. Four new Argentine manufactured machineguns and a quantity of long barreled weapons, sidearms, grenades and more than 7,000 bullets were seized.
- 1824 5 June. Two Molotov cocktail attacks were made in Montevideo, one of them against a school.
- 1825 Alejandro Artucio Rodriguez, one of the seditious organization's lawyers was given asylum at the Argentine Embassy in Montevideo.²³⁹
- 1826 A hideout was discovered at No 1678 M. Garcia Street in Montevideo. Three members of the MLN-T were arrested and a large quantity of tools was seized.
- 1827 6 June. Seditious activists stole two taxis in Montevideo.
- 1828 Twenty-five long barreled weapons and 4,562 bullets hastily removed from the hideout on Genova Street, which was searched the preceding 30 May, were found wrapped in plastic and buried at a site in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Park, in the Carrasco National Airport.
- 1829 A machinegun, 15 sidearms and 3 grenades were seized at a hairdresser's establishment at No 1728 Comercio Street.
- 1830 7 June. Neither the university rector nor any of the faculty deans accepted the invitation to visit the "People's Prison."
- 1831 Molotov cocktails were thrown at 10 private homes and political clubs in Montevideo.
- 1832 Several police agents were attacked but escaped unhurt.
- 1833 A laboratory for the manufacture of false documents (identity cards, civic credentials, driver's licenses, certificates from social and sports institutions, etc.) was discovered at No 1782 Alicante Street in Montevideo.
- 1834 7 June. Thirteen members of the MLN-T were arrested in Montevideo.
- 1835 Seditious organization lawyer Alejandro Artucio Rodriguez was arrested as he left the Argentine Embassy premises.
- 1836 8 June. Seditious activists stole two taxis in Montevideo.
- 1837 A Montevideo police agent was attacked and beaten.

- 1838 1972 Eight automobiles parked in downtown Montevideo streets were burned and/or otherwise damaged.
- 1839 Three seditious activists were arrested in Montevideo, one of them being Rodolfo Daniel Rolando Veira.²⁴⁰



A corner of the hideout at No 1440 Amazonas

- 1840 Ten other seditious activists were arrested in the interior, in particular, in Paso de los Toros, Department of Tacuarembó.
- 1841 9 June. Four incendiary bomb attacks were made upon three private homes and a business establishment.
- 1842 A clandestine MLN-T grenade factory was discovered at No 2693 Jujuy Street in Montevideo.
- 1843 Premises from which seditious documentation was seized were searched on P. Giralt Street in Montevideo.
- 1844 10 June. Molotov cocktail and explosive attacks were made on private homes.
- 1845 A clash occurred between FFCC troops and MLN-T members in the Department of Salto, resulting in the wounding of one officer and one seditious activist.

- 1846 1972 Two hideouts were discovered in the city and rural zones of the Department of Salto, and 34 MLN-T members were arrested. They included escapees from the Punta Carretas Prison Juan Carlos Rodriguez and Jose Manuel Solsona Acosta, as well as Victor Romeo Baccini Amarillo.²⁴¹
- 1847 10 June. The FFCC reported the seizure of the so-called "Tatu" plan of the seditious organization, "named after the caves dug by these animals of generally nocturnal habits in order to remain concealed from their enemies during the day," and numerous details concerning this plan were revealed.
- 1848 11 June. Communique No 60 of the Ministry of the Interior warned the population, parents in particular, of a plan to provoke disturbances and deaths in the streets of Montevideo.
- 1849 In the rural zone known as Bajada de Pena, Department of Rivera, an MLN-T group clashed with FFCC troops, and one seditious activist was mortally wounded.
- 1850 12 June. Explosive artifacts were thrown at three private homes in Montevideo.
- 1851 Eight persons affiliated with the MLN-T were arrested in the city of San Jose.
- 1852 12 June. The CEU [Uruguayan Bishops Council] issued a communique signed by the Archbishop Coadjutor of Montevideo, Carlos Parteli, and the auxiliary bishop, Andres M. Rubio, and the bishop of San Jose, Luis Baccino, referring to "the need for change in the country," an aspect on which the church has preached for a long time and which is radically challenged by the subversive groups; "the inhuman treatment some prisoners receive," an aspect of which "we must all be aware because of the dangers any arbitrary action carries with it"; "the wave of deaths, kidnappings, attacks with impunity, torture and the general climate of violence which has taken over the country," when it had seemed that "the stage of direct violence had been definitely surpassed"; all concerns which the Permanent Council of the CEU had personally communicated to the president of the republic, who "indicated that he shares this concern of the bishops with regard to the treatment received by those arrested under the jurisdiction of the armed branches," etc.
- 1853 13 June. The information center of the MLN-T was discovered at No 3731 J. B. Morelli Street in Montevideo.
- 1854 At the Parque del Plata resort in the Department of Canelones, several MLN-T leaders were captured, after some resistance. One of them, Leonel Raul Martinez Platero, who escaped on 12 April from the Punta Carretas Prison, was killed.



The four soldiers murdered on 18 May 1972 (Armed Forces Day), lying in the interior of the vehicle where they were gunned down.

- 1855 1972 An MLN-T camp located in the environs of the Queguay Chico River in the Department of Paysandu, was occupied, after an exchange of fire with the FFCC. A number of long barreled weapons and sidearms were seized, a number of persons were arrested and one seditious activist was wounded.
- 1856 13 June. The FFCC announced that the seditious organization was making use of the broadcasting stations in the interior and Montevideo as a telegram dispatch service, and the measures agreed upon with the general telecommunications office to avoid this activity were explained.
- 1857 14 June. Four long barreled weapons and two sidearms were stolen from a private home in Montevideo.
- 1858 Fire was set to a vehicle in the downtown section of the capital.



Front of the premises at No 3492 Coraceros Street, where a "people's hospital" operated.

- 1859 1972 A number of professional MLN-T members were arrested in the El Bosque resort area and other parts of the Department of Maldonado.

- 1860 14 June. The FFCC announced and alerted the population about the location of seditious hideouts perfectly concealed and camouflaged beneath houses and private buildings or in their environs, connected with the sewer and electric power networks, rented or occupied by members of the subversive organizations in order to build such hideouts, who having completed this work, leave or give up their leases, the premises subsequently being rented by persons or families unaffiliated with the organization.

- 1861 15 June. Molotov cocktails were thrown at two private homes in Montevideo.

- 1862 The president of the republic, Juan Maria Bordaberry, responded to the statement by the CEU dated the 12th of the month, noting its discrepancies with regard to: the causes of the violence promoted by the seditious organization, which it claims arises from a context of stagnation, dependence and despair, seemingly providing a principle for a justification which is nonexistent because the constitutional channels for "carrying forward the successive reforms demanded by the times" remains open in the country; the undesirability of making a public contribution to

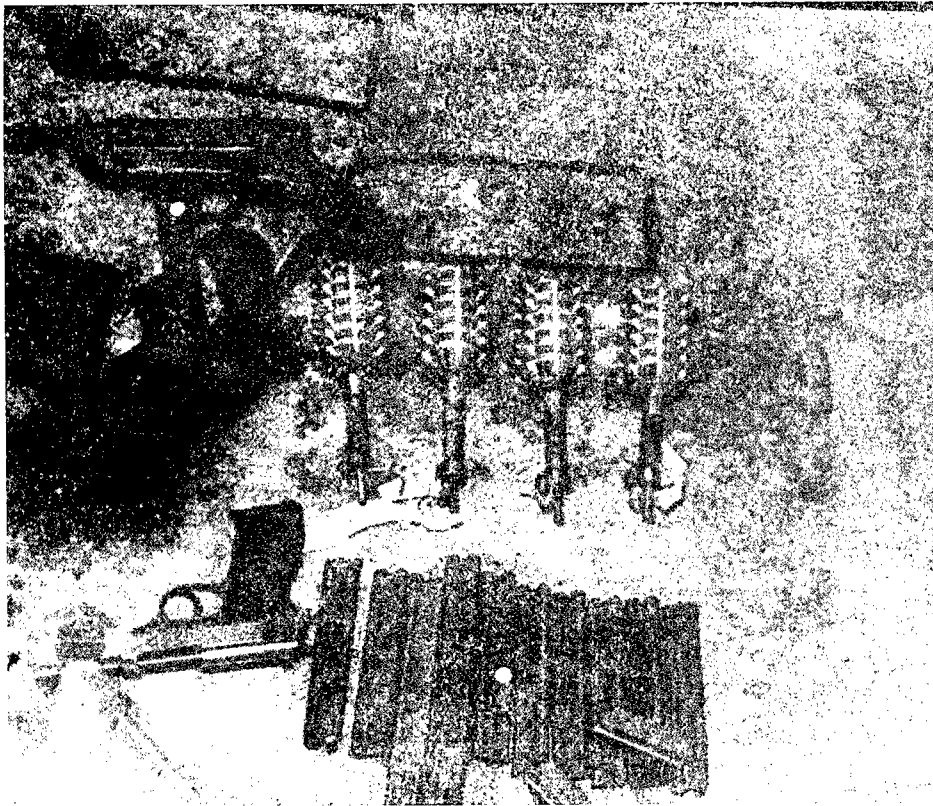
- 1862 1972 pacification with such a brief document as the CEU statement, and the uselessness of doing so in view of a government "only 3 months in office," and which has "repeatedly expressed its intention of directing its economic activities toward the greatest possible justice in distribution and dealing with the problems of labor, production, social welfare and health." The responsibility of the government "admits of no possible alternatives but to deal with sedition with all the tools made available by the constitution and the laws," "faced with an enemy using for his purposes all of the natural weaknesses of a country at peace"; the difference between being exacting and demanding, which are not synonyms for inhuman treatment: no one has issued any such order, and in this realm the FFAA [Armed Forces] have an honorable national tradition. The military and police commands are watching over the observance of this tradition, prepared to prevent and penalize violations, not only because it is their duty, but out of profound conviction." Once "our society is saved from chaos and violence," it will be possible "to dedicate all our time to promoting speedily the changes which, in providing all Uruguayans with justice and hope, will reunite them fraternally in a common destiny."
- 1863 15 June. A hideout concealed by a staircase was discovered in the premises at No 1966 E. Martinez Street in Montevideo. It contained thousands of photographic plates for the falsification of identity documents.
- 1864 An Armed Forces patrol pursued an MLN-T group which concealed itself in the woods on the banks of the Naquina ravine in the Department of Artigas, from which shots were fired which mortally wounded soldier Eusebio Godoy.
- 1865 Forty cane cutters belonging to the UTAA [Artigas Sugar Workers Union], whose affiliation with the MLN-T was proven, were arrested in Bella Union. Those arrested included Nelson Ariel Santana Perez, who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison.
- 1866 16 June. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a political club in Montevideo.
- 1867 Eight members of the MLN-T demanded lodging, food and a vehicle of a foreman on a ranch located at the 44.500 kilometer marker on Route 26. When he resisted, they fired at him, his wife and daughter, wounding all three. The foreman repelled their attack and succeeded in wounding one seditious activist.
- 1868 17 June. In surprise operations, incendiary bombs were thrown at eight automobiles parked in the downtown zone of Montevideo.

- 1869 1972 Catholic priest Edison Noguez commented publicly on the statements by the CEU dated the 12th of the month, saying: "The discontent of the people cries to the heavens, because the heavens no longer have representatives on earth. To govern the church of God, dear bishops, would be an occupation worthy of our ministry." He concluded by praying "for better times" for the church, etc.
- 1870 18 June. Molotov cocktails were thrown at a police sentry box and a political club in Montevideo.
- 1871 18 June. Shots were fired at two police agents who escaped unhurt.
- 1872 A clandestine MLN-T press concealed underground was found at the house at No 4210 M. Melendez Street in Montevideo. Materials for falsifying documents, fliers, pamphlets and other propaganda materials, such as equipment for photocopying 10,000 peso notes, were seized. Hugo Walter Nunez, in whose name the premises were registered and who provided cover, was arrested.



Access tunnel to the "people's prison" at No 1192 Juan Paulier Street

- 1873 1972 Forty members of column 22 of the MLN-T were arrested in the Department of Rivera, including a number of professionals and Washington Nunez Mendiando.²⁴²
- 1874 19 June. Circular No 12 of the Ministry of the Interior requested chiefs of police to provide information on the operations carried out in the antisubversive struggle, in connection with the ending on the 30th of the month of the period of civil war declared by the legislature the preceding 15 April, in order to combat sedition.
- 1875 ROE, VOZ OBRERA, No 13.
- 1876 20 June. A frustrated attack was made on a Central Bank of Uruguay vehicle.
- 1877 A police agent was kidnapped in Montevideo as he left his home, and was set free some hours later after being given a nausea producing drug.
- 1878 The FFCC exhumed the body of rural peon Pascasio Ramon Baez Mena, in the Department of Maldonado. He was assassinated by the MLN-T, by means of an overdose of pentothol because, while searching for a horse, he saw some seditious activists emerging from the hideout at the Spartacus ranch, on the premises of which he was buried.
- 1879 A seditious hideout was found at the premises of No 921 P. Zufriategui Street in Montevideo. It contained cash, sidearms, long barreled weapons and bullets of various calibers.
- 1880 Julieta Martinez de Acosta y Lara, the widow of the under secretary of the interior who was murdered on 14 April of this year, voiced in a public letter the "profound amazement I felt at the statement of our bishops" dated the 12th of the month.
- 1881 Molotov cocktails were thrown at political clubs and private homes and shots were fired at the home of a former high ranking Montevideo police officer.
- 1882 21 June. Six MLN-T bases were discovered, and several members of the organization were arrested, including Jorge Amilcar Manera Lluberas, one of the escapees from the Punta Carretas Prison.
- 1882a 22 June. Incendiary bombs were thrown at a private home and a pharmacy in Montevideo.
- 1883 A seditious hideout concealed behind a wall was located at No 972 Maldonado Street in Montevideo. Two electric presses and several wigs were seized.



Part of the weapons seized in the underground hideout at No 5628 Ariel Road

- 1884 1972 Another hideout was found at a farm near the city of Pando, and weapons and pharmaceutical materials were seized.
- 1885 Twenty-eight members of the MLN-T were arrested in the city of Treinta y Tres.
- 1886 23 June. Several bursts of machinegun were fired at a military vehicle from a jeep which then fled, at the intersection of Italia Avenue and Anzani, in Montevideo. Soldiers Victor Ademir Aguilar and Eduardo Deigado were killed and an officer was seriously wounded.
- 1887 In an automobile repair workshop in the settlement of Las Piedras, Department of Canelones, a factory for producing double bottoms for automobile seats and other parts for vehicles used by the MLN-T was discovered. This equipment made possible the clandestine transport of weapons and other goods, and the premises also served as one of the operational centers for the so-called "Collar" plan.

- 1888 1972 23 June. The Ministry of the Interior conveyed to the Chamber of Representatives its opinion on the questions raised the preceding 4 April with regard to the arrest of former deputy Ariel Collazo, stating the following conclusions: 1) the deputy mentioned had repeatedly made public statements voicing his desire and intention to destroy national institutions by force of arms; 2) these statements represented admissible factors for judgment with regard to the criminal acts commission, which the former legislator did not deny in his letter of 3 April; 3) these facts and statements were the result of the extra-parliamentary activities of Collazo which were incompatible with his functions as a legislator; 4) his arrest was carried out pursuant to the legal regime of the emergency security measures, at a time when there was no protection due to parliamentary immunity.²⁴³
- 1889 24 June. ROE, VOZ OBRERA, No 14.
- 1890 Coal tar and paint bombs were thrown at the Military Center in Montevideo.
- 1891 Ruben Yanez, "The Experience of the USSR, I," EL POPULAR.
- 1892 Twenty members of the MLN-T were arrested in various operations.
- 1893 Seditious activist Alberto Caccioli Olivera was killed while resisting arrest in the Department of Artigas.
- 1894 The contents of the documents seized from the MLN-T entitled "For a correct attitude toward the problem of security. A method of counterattack against the repressive forces," was released. It set forth the plan conceived by the seditious organization for discrediting the FFCC, and in particular the army, put into use by means of a systematic campaign of denunciations made through the Committee of Families of Political Prisoners, the press, and lawyers committed to the movement, based on alleged torture, attempting to involve military officers of the highest rank and insisting on the existence of paramilitary and para-police groups, etc.
- 1895 25 June. The vehicle and weapons of an officer in Montevideo were stolen.
- 1896 Seventeen members of the MLN-T column operating in the Department of Durazno were arrested, including several doctors and an evangelical pastor.
- 1897 26 June. An incendiary bomb was thrown at a political club in Montevideo.

- 1898 1972 26 June. When a police patrol asked a couple for their documents on Burgues Street in Montevideo, the man responded by drawing a 45 caliber pistol with which he attempted to resist. He was killed, while his companion surrendered. When identified he proved to be seditious activist Gustavo Luis Cauchet Inzauralde.
- 1899 27 June. The executive branch asked the legislature to extend the state of civil war and suspension of individual guarantees.
- 1900 Several seditious activists, concealed by the trees in a small square on Luis A. de Herrera Avenue in Montevideo, fired on a military vehicle, wounding two officers, and when a third jumped from the vehicle to respond to their attack, they fled.
- 1901 When a police patrol in Montevideo asked for the documents of a couple traveling by bus in the Cerro zone, they drew weapons from a bag and an exchange of shots ensued, in which both individuals were wounded and the bus conductor killed.
- 1902 Thirty-seven MLN-T members were arrested in Paysandu.
- 1903 28 June. A burst of machinegun fire was directed at a military vehicle on the Rambla Costanera in Montevideo, wounding an officer. The seditious activist fled in another vehicle.
- 1904 Bombs were thrown at a commercial premise and a political club in Montevideo.
- 1905 Seventeen members of the MLN-T were arrested in the city of Colonia.
- 1906 Four MLN-T members were arrested in the city of Rocha.
- 1907 While seditious activist Juan Fachinelli was being transferred within an institution, he escaped from his guards and attempted to flee. Falling from the top of a staircase, he was killed instantly.
- 1908 28 June 1972. In the course of an operation (pincer movement) at Carlos Maria Ramirez and the Pentanoso bridge, two unidentified individuals got off a CUTCSA [Uruguayan Bus Company, Inc] bus which had been stopped. Covering themselves with gunfire, they fled, mortally wounding the bus conductor with three shots and wounding one of the soldiers participating in the group carrying out the operation.
- 1909 29 June. An attempt by seditious activists to rob officers transporting money in Montevideo for the payment of wages in a government department was frustrated.

- 1910 1972 30 June. Molotov cocktails were thrown at a private home and a political club in Montevideo.
- 1911 Incendiary bombs were thrown at vehicles in downtown Montevideo.
- 1912 Fifteen MLN-T members, including the monk Manuel Andres Dibar Curuchet, were arrested in Salto.
- 1913 A seditious activist who disobeyed an order to halt and attempted to flee was fatally wounded in Bella Union.
- 1914 The legislature extended the state of civil war and the suspension of individual guarantees until 22 July, this extension to become invalid in the event that the security law being debated in the parliament at that time became effective.
- 1915 The executive branch decreed the extension of the state of civil war and the suspension of the individual guarantees, which were specifically set forth.
- 1915a July. Roque Faraone, "The Uruguay in Which We Live, 1900-1972," Montevideo, Arca.
- 1916 1 July. The FFCC located a grenade factory in the city of Fray Bentos, Department of Rio Negro, installed in a metallurgical workshop, with a furnace and industrial equipment. The person responsible for providing the premises with cover, who proved to be Oscar Dulcineo Ruiz Alvin, alias "Jacobo," was arrested.
- 1917 1 July. The FFCC reported on the investigations made of the medical-health service of the MLN-T, the way in which the sub column in charge of its functions, and the existence of a "health annex," the administration of which was headed by Gabriel Schroeder Orozco²⁴⁴ and Armando Blanco Katras,²⁴⁵ and which had the following professional workers: dental surgeons Hector Orlando Elcheverry Claveria and Cesar Augusto Badell Gomez, gynecologist Carlos Alberto Briozzo Perez, medical practitioner Blanca Amanda Cobas de Menotti, nurse Elbia Margarita Toledo Perlas,²⁴⁶ Cristina Migliaro de Grobb,²⁴⁷ Jorge Grobb Carbajal,²⁴⁸ Nibia Aguero de Otero and Aidee D'Aiuto Soler.²⁴⁹
- 1918 2 July. A hideout of the seditious organization was discovered at No 1605 Ceibal Street in Montevideo. From it weapons and a mimeograph machine were seized, and Mariela Cazhur de Castagnin and Jorge Adriano Castognin, both on the wanted list, were arrested.

- 1919 1972 A clandestine MLN-T press was discovered at No 1916 Yaguari Street in Montevideo.
- 1920 The FFCC released information on the murder on 14 April of sub-commissioner Delega and other police officers, giving the names of the criminals.
- 1921 3 July. Seditious activists stole a taxi in Montevideo.
- 1922 MLN-T members entered the business of former police officer Luis Jose Barbizon, in Montevideo, and, without uttering a word, fired several shots, killing him. Two of the criminals were identified.
- 1923 Seventeen members of the MLN-T were arrested in the Department of Canelones.
- 1924 MLN-T leader Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres was captured after a clash which occurred at the 44 kilometer marker on Route 1 at the site known as "Barrancas de Mauricio," resulting in the wounding of one officer and the man arrested. In the course of the operation the following seditious activists were also captured: Roberto Henry Bernatti Vener, Elbio Anibal Cardozo Rodriguez, Ana Maria Castagnetto Da Rosa, Makario Pereira and Maria de los Angeles Marquez Sabanez.
- 1925 4 July. A business firm in Montevideo was attacked and clothing worth \$437 was taken.
- 1926 An OPR-33 [Popular Revolutionary Movement-33] hideout, in which kidnap victim Fernandez Llado was kept, was discovered at No 3417 Rafael Street.
- 1927 An underground hideout was found at No 4097 Humberto Street in Montevideo. Forty long barreled weapons were seized.
- 1928 The authorities in the Department of Treinta y Tres released information about events in which 40 seditious activists were arrested.
- 1929 4 July. The FFCC supplemented the information released 3 days earlier concerning the destruction of the health service of the seditious organization, providing new data on the structure and functioning of that service, as well as its technical staff, which included the following physicians: Luis Iriondo Pernas,²⁵⁰ Aparicia Saravia,²⁵¹ Ruben Laino Estevez,²⁵² Carlos Ariel Benavidez,²⁵³ Luis F. Diaz,²⁵⁴ Washington Zapata Raboulaz,²⁵⁵ Eduardo Francisco Isern Galindo,²⁵⁶ Enrique Vazquez,²⁵⁷ Juan J. Leal,²⁵⁸ Ruben Esperon,²⁵⁹ Jorge Dubra,²⁶⁰ Nevel Bonilla,²⁶¹

- 1929 1972 Iber Berriel,²⁶² Omar Etorena,²⁶³ practitioner Edith Steiner,²⁶⁴ nurse Edita Olivera,²⁶⁵ anesthetist Juan Pedro D'Este,²⁶⁶ in charge of the hospital, ambulance service, etc., Mario Ventre,²⁶⁷ Luis Alberto Martinez Riendo,²⁶⁸ Jorge Mosquera,²⁶⁹ and Maria del Rosario Ricci de Mosquera.²⁷⁰
- 1930 5 July. Incendiary bombs were thrown at a private home in Montevideo.
- 1931 The executive group of the MLN-T formulated a proposal for the "pacification of the country," "which would allow peace in the various sectors and on the part of groups with an attitude of resistance toward the regime or in arms against it, while at the same time representing advance in the country's production." In view of the demand for unconditional surrender, it answered that this was not possible because "we do not consider ourselves defeated... and we are certain that if the leadership surrendered, other comrades would continue the struggle and even if they surrendered, those who today are outside would take it up again sooner or later... We can only conceive of the military dismantling of the MLN-T when an attack is begun on the evils which the country is suffering," etc.
- 1932 6 July. Molotov cocktails were thrown at two private establishments in Montevideo.
- 1933 Three seditious hideouts were found in Montevideo, at 3920 G. Rivas Street, 1490 Maldonado Street and 227 Zubillaga Street, and three sidearms, grenades, documentation and other materials were seized.
- 1934 Six members of the MLN-T were arrested in Paso de los Toros, Department of Tacuarembó.
- 1935 7 July. Forty-one other seditious members of the column 22b, functioning in the city of Paso de los Toros, were arrested, including Eduardo Martinez Platero²⁷¹ and Fernando Alberto Secco Aparicio.²⁷²
- 1936 An attack was made on the home of the director of customs in Montevideo.
- 1937 8 July. Incendiary bombs were thrown at an automobile parked on the public street in Montevideo.
- 1938 8 July. In an operation carried out on 17 meters street, between Cuchilla Grande and Osvaldo Rodrigo, an MLN-T base was discovered and a clash occurred, resulting in the death of seditious activist Aurelio Sergio Fernandez Pena and the arrest

- 1938 1972 of Cristina Cabrera Laport de Bidegain, who was seriously wounded and was taken to the Central Military Hospital. Also, one police officer and three soldiers participating in the operation were wounded.
- 1939 Fourteen members of the MLN-T were arrested in Dolores, Department of Soriano.
- 1940 An underground hideout was located at a farm in Tacuarembó, from which 5 long barreled weapons, 5 sidearms, a machinegun and 2000 bullets were seized.
- 1941 10 July. Seditious activists fired at a police agent in Montevideo, who sustained three gunshot wounds in the legs.
- 1942 Law No 14068 concerning internal state security was promulgated, modifying the military penal code, the regular penal code, and the press law, and approving other provisions.
- 1943 11 July. Thirty members of the MLN-T were arrested in the Department of Florida, and several hideouts containing subversive materials and documentation were located.
- 1944 A seditious hideout was found in the locality of Las Piedras, and 3,224 bullets of various calibers were seized.
- 1945 12 July. A taxi was stolen in Montevideo.
- 1946 A tunnel dug from the outside into the Punta Carretas Prison and connecting with the sewer network was discovered.
- 1947 Two MLN-T members robbed a medical union collector of the equivalent of \$2,140 in Montevideo.
- 1948 The FFCC issued a statement reporting on the medical aid provided to date to seditious activists who were wounded or ill when captured: bullet wounds, 16, injuries, 16, nervous cases, 16, other ailments, 61.
- 1949 13 July. An incendiary bomb was thrown at a private home in Montevideo.
- 1950 Five seditious activists were arrested in Montevideo.
- 1951 14 July. With the culmination of investigations of the MLN-T health network, the FFCC reported on the destruction of the system, including the so-called column 15 annex.
- 1952 The body of a seditious activist buried by his comrades in the woods in Paysandu, following his death from a bullet wound in the chest, was exhumed.

- 1953 1972 15 July. A seditious activist who attempted to flee when detained was fatally wounded. When identified, he proved to be Nelson Simon Berreta Hernandez.
- 1954 A group of some hundreds of citizens, "in connection with the slanderous accusations made against the armed forces in the unprecedented letter from three bishops," congratulated "the president of the republic, Juan Maria Bordaberry," in a public statement made "as Catholics and Uruguayans," "on his firm and determined attitude toward subversion... and the armed forces on land, in the sea and in the air and the police for the brilliant successes which they had been obtaining through efficient and silent work against the treason of Tupamaro communism; treason by the communists of all hues propagated from the schools, from church centers and from the communist political and trade union centers." "This slanderous campaign against the armed forces and these desires for peace at all costs on the part of those who thus far have done nothing but concern themselves with provoking violence represent a hypocritical maneuver to prevent the FFCC from completely eradicating antipatriotism." "Based on a prior understanding, the letter from Bishops Partelli, Baccino and Rubio, who for years have been inciting Catholics to ideological and violent subversion, to hatred, to class struggle and other theoretical and practical errors of Marxism and communism, are a part of the same pharisaical maneuver." "With the firmest conviction, we point out to the president and the Armed Forces that it will be useless to combat violent subversion unless rapid and effective measures are adopted to do away with the producers of the mentality of subversive violence in education, the trade unions, the church, etc. There can be no final victory in the psychopolitical war unless there is also a struggle for the minds which the international communists of all hues seek to enslave."
- 1955 16 July. MLN-T members stole cash, furs, jewelry and a typewriter from a private home in Montevideo, valued at \$1,748.
- 1956 Sixteen members of the MLN-T were captured in the Department of Durazno.
- 1957 The corpse of a seditious activist who died as a result of a street accident on 14 April was found buried under the floor and covered with cement in a hideout located some weeks earlier in Montevideo.
- 1958 The FFCC issued an informative statement on the sequence of events in the assassination of professor and former under secretary of the interior Armando Acosta y Lara, the preceding 14 April, in which 10 seditious activists, two of them still

- 1958 1972 at large, participated. The participants in that operation were Washington Vazquez Clavijo,²⁷³ Gabriel Luis Carbajales Gonzalez,²⁷⁴ Elena Beatriz Vassilisky Castro,²⁷⁵ Raul Jorge Mendez Moreira,²⁷⁶ Rodolfa Wolf,²⁷⁷ Andres Fay Desseant,²⁷⁸ Alice Fay Desseant,²⁷⁹ Carlos Liscano Fleitas,²⁸⁰ Samuel Gonzalo Blixen Garcia,²⁸¹ and Marcelo Maria Nicolas Estefaneli Galbiotti,²⁸² the last two mentioned being those not yet apprehended.
- 1959 17 July. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a private home in Montevideo.
- 1960 Thirty-nine members of the MLN-T were arrested in the Department of Rio Negro, including 10 employees of the Fray Bentos Cold Storage Company and various local professional people and teachers. Documentation pertaining to a plan organized by Raul Sendic to kidnap one of the owners of the Nueva Melhem hacienda and resort were seized.
- 1961 19 July. Sergio Malaguero, who was kidnapped the preceding 11 May, was set free, in poor physical condition.
- 1962 An MLN-T photographic laboratory for falsifying documents was discovered in Montevideo.
- 1963 Two private homes were attacked in Montevideo and five sidearms and one long barreled weapon were stolen from them.
- 1964 Seditious activists fired on two GR agents who escaped without injury.
- 1965 The FFCC revealed details of the plans and execution of the assassination of the four guards of the army commander in chief the preceding 18 May.
- 1966 20 July. At a press conference attended by his physician, and speaking from a wheel chair, Sergio Molaguero described the torture to which he was subjected during the 70 days he was held after being kidnapped by seditious activists.
- 1967 The FFCC issued an informative statement on the seizure from the MLN-T, among other documents, of the text "Psychopolitics," by Kennet Goff, recommended reading for its members by the MLN-T. The report quoted the introduction, consisting of a speech by former Soviet political commissar Lavrenti Beria, in which he said: "Practicing psychopolitics is a solemn responsibility. With it you can reduce your enemies to the category of insects. You can paralyze the efficiency of leaders by infecting their families mentally, using drugs, and then denouncing their psychic instability. You can annihilate the loyalty of the soldier to his army and that of the statesman to his fatherland," etc.

1968 1972 22 July. Twenty-two members of the MLN-T were arrested in Montevideo.

1969 24 July. Seditious activists stole a weapon from a police agent in Montevideo.

1970 A bus was stoned in the streets of the capital city.

1971 25 July. The director general of civil defense, Col Artigas Alvarez, was murdered by two machinegun bursts as he left his home at 1542 Otelio Street in Montevideo, with his wife and daughter, who were unharmed.

1972 Seditious activist Carlos Alvariza was killed on police premises in Montevideo when, in an attempt to flee, he plunged through an opening and collided with a concrete beam.

1973 26 July. An incendiary bomb was thrown at a political club in Montevideo.

1974 27 July. During a routine patrol, seditious activist Julio Angel Marenoles Saenz, who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison on 6 September 1971, was arrested at the intersection of Larranaga Avenue and Emilio Rana.

1975 27 July. An incendiary bomb was thrown at another political club.

1976 Two seditious activists were captured, one of whom, Samuel Gonzalo Blixen Garcia, participated in the assassination of Prof Acosta y Lara on the preceding 14 April.

1977 28 July. Communique No 61 of the Ministries of the Interior and Industry and Trade warned of the inflexible application of the subsistence law and the arrest, pursuant to emergency security measures, of speculators.

1978 Hector Menoni, the representative of the UPI international news agency in Montevideo, was invited by members of the OPR-33, who broke in to his home and took him away with them, to attend a nighttime press conference.

1979 MLN-T members robbed a private home in Montevideo.

1980 Seditious activist Eduardo Agustin Ariosa Amilivia was killed when he offered armed resistance to an order for his arrest, while another seditious activist who fled from the military establishment where he was being held was recaptured.

1981 Seven other members of the MLN-T, all of them State Bank employees, were arrested in Montevideo.

1982 1972 Six seditious activists were arrested in Salto.

1983 The FFCC issued a statement giving the details of the robbery of the BROU [Bank of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay] branch in Salto, as well as other robberies committed in that city.

1984 29 July. Vehicles, one of them official, and a sidearm, were stolen in Montevideo.

1985 Journalist Hector Menoni was set free, and he explained that the purpose of the invitation from the seditious organization was to provide, through him, their own version of the treatment accorded Sergio Molaguero, whom they admitted having had to beat, but said it was because he resisted his kidnappers, etc.

1986 30 July. Mario Segundo Soarez Piriz, one of the fugitives from the Punta Carretas Prison, was mortally wounded when he offered armed resistance to an arrest warrant.

1987 Another escapee from the Punta Carretas Prison was captured during an operation.

1988 31 July. The FFCC found a seditious hideout at No 231 A. Suarez Street, seizing weapons and medical materials.

1989 The FFCC frustrated a seditious attempt to attack the second section police commissariat in Montevideo.

1990 August. Red Groups, NUEVAS TOREAS, No 1, Montevideo.

1991 "Character of the Chilean Revolution," Montevideo.

1992 1 August. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a political club in Montevideo.

1993 Seditious activists subjected a member of the FFCC in Montevideo to threats.

1994 During a search of a seditious hideout at No 3825 Sallustro Street in Montevideo, two FFCC agents were wounded while arresting an extremist. Another succeeded in fleeing.

1995 A young man was wounded in Montevideo when he failed to submit to an arrest warrant, but he proved to have no affiliation with the seditious activists.

1996 In a special communique, the FFCC informed the population of the need to heed arrest warrants in order to avoid regrettable incidents, referring to the preceding case.

1997 1972 In view of statements made in the parliament by pro-seditionary representatives, the FFCC issued a communique making it clear that they were not compromising with the seditious groups nor engaging in truce negotiations.

1998 2 August. Thirty-one seditious activists were arrested in Paysandu, including some of the participants in the theft of weapons from the Swiss Gun Club in Nueva Helvecia in 1963.

1999 3 August. A vehicle in Montevideo was stolen.

2000 The FFCC arrested seven MLN-T members in Montevideo.

2001 Thirteen seditious activists were arrested in the Department of Colonia, three of them being bank employees who planned the theft of the local branch of the BROU.

2002 4 August. Two MLN-T members stole the regulation weapon from a police agent in Montevideo.

2003 Three MLN-T members stole an automobile from its owner in Montevideo.

2004 Three individuals engaging in the smuggling of weapons from Brazil were arrested.

2005 5 August. A seditious hideout concealed beneath the living room was discovered at No 1921 Santander Street in Montevideo.

2006 5 August. The FFCC discovered a hideout beneath the bathroom in a home in Fortaleza de Santa Teresa, Department of Rocha, which proved to be the refuge of Marenales and Macchi, among other MLN-T leaders.

2007 6 August. Several MLN-T members stole money and a vehicle from the Ton Ton nightclub in Montevideo.

2008 Several soldiers on leave were fired upon in Montevideo from a moving vehicle, but were unharmed.

2009 The hideout in which kidnap victim Sergio Molaguero was held, was located on Austria Street, in the Cerro zone of Montevideo. It included three cemented compartments.

2010 A warrant for the arrest of Washington Leonel Ferrer Almeida, UP member and acting substitute deputy was issued. The Chamber of Representatives had suspended him at the request of the executive branch because of his affiliation with the MLN-T, but he had succeeded in fleeing before the end of the long session in which his case was dealt with.²⁸³

- 2011 7 August. Seditious activists stole long barreled weapons and a sidearm from a private home in Montevideo.
- 2012 The supermarket at No 2005 Carape Street in Montevideo was attacked and a large sum of money stolen.
- 2013 The "inside man" for the robbery of the Mailhos firm was arrested.
- 2014 An MLN-T leader who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison and who was a participant in kidnapping operations, was recaptured.
- 2015 The loss of the precision rifle stolen in the robbery of the Naval Training Institute and used in the murders of Prof Acosta y Lara and the four guards of the army commander in chief was recovered.
- 2016 8 August. Seditious activists stole a vehicle in Montevideo.
- 2017 Two MLN-T members stole two long barreled weapons from a private house in Montevideo.
- 2018 The FFCC arrested nine seditious activists in the Department of Rivera, including Julio Cairello Pirez,²⁸⁴ and located three hideouts as follows: one with a capacity of eight persons, in the Canada Cerro Bonito site; one with a capacity of five persons at the Paso del Sauce site in the Cunapiru ravine; and one of the Tacuarembó River, adapted for concealing food-stuffs. Medical items and field equipment were seized.
- 2019 9 August. A polyclinic for seditious activists was discovered in the heart of Montevideo. In addition to caring for members of the CAT [Tupamaro Support Group], it served as the site of urgent liaison contacts.
- 2020 A seditious activist who had escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison was killed in the street in Montevideo when he failed to heed an order to halt.
- 2021 Seditious activist Susana Iglesias Rodriguez²⁸⁵ was arrested in Montevideo.
- 2022 10 August. A police vehicle in Montevideo was stoned.
- 2023 MLN-T members stole an automobile in Montevideo.
- 2024 Members of the same seditious group attacked a business at No 1570 Constituyente Street, stealing items valued at \$437.

- 2025 1972 Ten MLN-T members were arrested in Montevideo. Among them was a student attempting to provoke a disturbance at the gates of the university, where he was arrested while making a contact.
- 2026 The president of the republic held an interview with leaders of the FA [Broad Front] Jose Pedro Cardozo, Oscar Bruschera and Hugo Batalla, in connection with the subject of oil prospecting, according to a subsequent government communique. After the interview, while still at Government House itself, the representatives of the leftist front referred to read a statement to the journalists, refusing to answer questions about the details of what was discussed.
- 2027 11 August. Three seditious activists stole a sidearm from a business located at No 2645 Arenal Grande Street in Montevideo.
- 2028 Incendiary bomb attacks were made on a home and private automobile in Montevideo.
- 2029 A light truck belonging to a banking institution in Montevideo was stolen, the thieves fleeing in it with cash equivalent to \$8,741 as well as various checks.
- 2030 A seditious activist who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison was mortally wounded in Montevideo when he resisted an order for his arrest.
- 2031 12 August. Red Groups, "Some Considerations Concerning the Struggle of the Night Preparatory Schools," Montevideo.
- 2032 A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a house in Montevideo.
- 2033 12 August. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at another premise in Montevideo.
- 2034 Five MLN-T members, including Armando Pedro Blanco Izzis,²⁸⁶ were arrested.
- 2035 13 August. At about 2000 hours, simultaneous bomb attacks were made upon four banks in Montevideo.
- 2036 Sixteen members of the MLN-T, two of them escapees from the Punta Carretas Prison, were arrested in Montevideo.
- 2037 14 August. MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, "With All One's Might," Montevideo.
- 2038 Shots were fired at the home of a senate official.

- 2039 1972 A long barreled weapon and a sidearm were stolen from the house at No 971 Oficial 2 Street in Montevideo, valued at about \$524.
- 2040 15 August. Arrangements were made for the Labor Education Colony, located in Libertad, Department of San Jose, to be used for the imprisonment of seditious activists, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense.²⁸⁷
- 2041 MLN-T members attacked a business at No 467 Rincon Street, 4th floor, in Montevideo, stealing goods worth \$2,207.
- 2042 16 August. Six MLN-T members attacked a business at No 1024 Paysandu Street, in Montevideo, stealing goods worth \$838.
- 2043 A liaison office of the MLN-T which served as a neighborhood polyclinic, supporting the health service of column 70, was located in Montevideo.
- 2044 Thirteen seditious activists were arrested in various searches in Montevideo, some of them in possession of weapons and grenades.
- 2045 17 August. Two shotguns and two sidearms were stolen from a house in Montevideo.
- 2046 The house at No 3915 Bogota Street in Montevideo was searched, and a seditious activist hiding there resisted with machinegun fire, killing officer Darwin Fernandez.
- 2047 Eleven members of the CAT were arrested in Montevideo.
- 2048 18 August. Second Lieutenant Ricardo Braida was shot to death while guarding a seditious activist in an automobile, while awaiting a contact.
- 2049 18 August. The FFCC reported the capture of eight MLN-T leaders between the 10th and the 16th of the current month.
- 2050 Three members of the MLN-T were arrested in Paysandu.
- 2051 20 August. Seditious activists stole two automobiles from their owners in Montevideo.
- 2052 The murderer of Second Lieutenant Ricardo Braida was identified and an arrest warrant issued.
- 2053 Nine members of the MLN were arrested in Montevideo, among them one of the women who escaped during the "Estrella," Margarita Maciel Rodriguez.²⁸⁸

- 2054 1972 21 August. The OPR-33 members who kidnapped Sergio Malaguero were arrested and revealed how this operation was carried out.
- 2055 22 August. An incendiary bomb was thrown at a private home in Montevideo.
- 2056 Eight seditious activists were arrested in Cerro Largo.
- 2057 Five more seditious activists were arrested in Tacuarembó.
- 2058 24 August. Twelve more seditious activists were arrested in Tacuarembó, including one who was responsible for the smuggling into the country of 1,000 pistols, and one woman, Maria Teresa Diaz Lopez de Piedra.²⁸⁹
- 2059 26 August. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a private firm in Montevideo.
- 2060 A house at the intersection of Route 1 and Camino de las Tropas in Montevideo was searched, and when the occupants resisted with gunfire, three MLN-T members, one of them an escapee from the Punta Carretas Prison, were killed.
- 2061 27 August. Five MLN-T members, including one of the participants in the kidnappings of Jackson and Berembau, were arrested in Canelones.
- 2062 Three other members of the MLN-T were arrested in the Department of Durazno.
- 2063 28 August. MLN-T members, two of them wearing police uniforms, attacked a jewelry store on Sarandí Street in downtown Montevideo, stealing jewels worth several millions of pesos and a sidearm.
- 2064 Fourteen persons affiliated with the MLN-T were arrested in Montevideo.
- 2065 Six seditious activists were arrested in Treinta y Tres.
- 2066 29 August. Thirteen members of the MLN-T were captured in Montevideo, one of them being Sergio Edmiglio Da Rosa Silveira, who escaped the preceding 12 April from the Punta Carretas Prison.
- 2067 31 August. The FFCC revealed details of the planning and execution of the murder of Captain Motto the preceding 14 April, one of the main participants in which, Jorge Lorenzo Becca Tessa, was still at large.
- 2068 During the hours of the night, the house at No 225 Sarandí Street in Montevideo was searched, and after an exchange of fire,

- 2068 1972 three seditious activists were arrested. One, who had been wounded in the face, proved to be Raul Sendic, and another an escapee from the Women's Prison who was his companion.
- 2069 September. Red Groups, NUEVAS TAREAS, No 2, Montevideo.
- 2070 Rodney Arismendi, "Juvenile Rebellion -- Revolt or Revolution?" Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 2071 MLN, CORREO TUPAMARO, "Negotiations with the Armed Forces," Montevideo.
- 2071a Vivian Trias, "Uruguay and Its Political Keys," Montevideo, Banda Oriental.
- 2072 1 September. The Ministry of the Interior warned the public in general and young people in particular that they must abstain from street "stonings."
- 2073 A taxi was stolen in Montevideo to transport an injured seditious activist.
- 2074 Some 20 persons threw Molotov cocktails at vehicles and burned tires in the old city of Montevideo, causing damage estimated at about \$9,560.
- 2075 2 September. A hideout was discovered on the banks of the San Francisco Ravine in the Department of Paysandu, near Route 3. Foodstuffs and medicines stored there were seized.
- 2076 4 September. Seditious activists stole a small iron safe and cartridges for arming percussion caps from a business in Montevideo.
- 2077 5 September. Three seditious activists stole items worth \$300 from the model cold storage premises at No 2129 Porongos Street in Montevideo, but were captured before they could get away.
- 2078 A sidearm was stolen from the house at No 1424 Carmelo Street in Montevideo.
- 2079 Molotov cocktails were thrown at a private home in Montevideo.
- 2080 A seditious activist was arrested in a bar in Montevideo and was injured in the foot as he attempted to flee.
- 2081 7 September. The seditious activists who attacked a Montevideo nightclub the preceding 6 August were captured at the 22 kilometer marker on Italia Avenue.

- 2082 1972 9 September. The FFCC revealed the details of the seizure of the broadcasting station of Radio Lavalleja, and the subsequent broadcasting of an MLN-T proclamation,
- 2083 11 September. A private vehicle in Montevideo was stolen.
- 2084 Seditious activists stole surgical equipment from the medical clinic at No 2345 Javier de Viana Street in Montevideo, using a vehicle stolen a short time earlier.
- 2085 12 September. The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces were assigned jurisdiction for determining the warlike nature and distribution of the materials seized from the seditious organization.
- 2086 12 September. Bombs were thrown at the home of a police officer in Montevideo.
- 2087 A seditious group took over a photographic studio at No 1535 Tacuarembó Street in Montevideo for an hour and a half, to provide themselves with false documents.
- 2088 At No 2440 Luis A. de Herrera Street in Montevideo, the FFCC discovered a seditious hideout equipped to conceal persons and to serve as a warehouse for ammunition and medicines, quantities of which were seized.
- 2089 13 September. At the intersection of Luis A. de Herrera and General Flores Streets, in Montevideo, a seditious activist was mortally wounded when he responded to an order to halt by drawing a weapon, which he was unable to fire because the officers took action first.
- 2090 15 September. Shots were fired at a private home in Montevideo.
- 2091 The FFCC located distribution centers for drugs and various smuggled goods in Montevideo.
- 2092 17 September. Molotov cocktails were thrown at a light truck in Montevideo.
- 2093 During the early morning hours, two persons ran their vehicle through the barriers set up by the GR, and were wounded by the guard, when they disobeyed the order to halt.
- 2094 18 September. Seditious activists stole a vehicle from its owner in Montevideo.
- 2095 19 September. The Labor Education Colony was given the name "Military Detention Establishment No 1."

- 2096 1972 A seditious group stole funds equivalent to \$1,590 and various checks from the notary's office at No 1337 Carlos Roxlo Street in Montevideo.
- 2097 20 September. "The Womb of Sedition," EL PAIS, Montevideo.
- 2098 21 September. The FFCC revealed details of the planning and execution of the seizure of the village of Soca, and concerning the participants.
- 2099 22 September. The MLN-T member who murdered the bus driver who refused to start up the vehicle when the FFCC asked the extremist to surrender was identified.
- 2100 23 September. The members of the seditious group calling itself the "22 December Movement" were captured,
- 2101 24 September. An effort to take over the broadcasting station of Radio Ariel in Montevideo was frustrated,
- 2102 In an exchange of fire between the authorities and a seditious group at the Punta Colorado resort, near Piriapolis, Department of Maldonado, a woman member of the seditious group was killed.
- 2103 In a search of the house at No 4017 Itacumbu Street, the seditious activist who was its occupant offered armed resistance and was injured.
- 2104 25 September. By means of a telephone call, MLN-T leaders threatened directors of the aviation enterprise, Iberia, demanding that 10 million pesos, plus \$10,000, be turned over to them.
- 2105 25 September. The FFCC arrested four members of the column originally called the "6 September Movement"²⁹⁰ and later the "Chueco Maciel Movement,"
- 2106 26 September. A clandestine press used to produce counterfeit money was discovered in the old city of Montevideo, and \$132,000 in counterfeit \$50 and \$100 bills were seized.
- 2107 The executive branch asked the legislature to extend the suspension of individual guarantees, expressly mentioned certain guarantees.
- 2108 26 September. The FFCC reported on the trial of an MLN-T member Adhemar Jorge Acerenza Lippi, a journalist by profession, for the crimes of attack upon the constitution, concealment and associations for criminal purposes.

- 2109 1972 27 September. The house at No 1251 Nueva York Street in Montevideo was searched and two seditious activists were arrested. A neighbor mistook the police search for a robbery and fired at the patrol inspecting the roof, as a result of which he was slightly injured.
- 2110 28 September. Ten MLN-T members were arrested in Montevideo.
- 2111 An individual attempting to take a woman's purse from her was mortally wounded in Montevideo by a patrol, when he ignored an order to halt.
- 2112 The legislative branch granted an extension until 30 November on the suspension of certain individual guarantees.
- 2113 The executive branch declared the individual guarantees referred to above suspended.
- 2114 29 September. Six seditious activists fired at two soldiers of the 1st Cavalry Regiment in Montevideo, wounding no one.
- 2115 30 September. Eleven seditious activists were arrested in Montevideo.
- 2116 1 October. Completing operations launched earlier, the FFCC arrested the following National Subsistence Council officials and members of column 70 of the MLN-T: Elbio Larrosa Vidal,²⁹¹ Julio Cesar Barreto Sigliano,²⁹² Guido Di Lando Larrand,²⁹³ Ubaldo Alberto Martinez,²⁹⁴ Teresa Mercedes Buscaglia Vidal,²⁹⁵ Rafael Gregorio Birriel Reyes,²⁹⁶ and Jose Manuel Pereyra Ibanez,²⁹⁷ seizing two pistols, three revolvers and a homemade grenade.
- 2117 8 October. The following neighborhood members of the column 70 referred to were arrested: Carlos A. Alfaro Aguilar,²⁹⁸ Mabel Marsello Amenedo,²⁹⁹ Octavio Carsen,³⁰⁰ Hortensia Ubilla,³⁰¹ Diana Maidanick Potasnick,³⁰² Pedro Sere Previtali,³⁰³ Rodrigo Arocena Linn,³⁰⁴ Laura Marta Raggio Odizzio,³⁰⁵ and Jose Luis Munoz Marbachan.³⁰⁶
- 2118 11 October. OPR-33 member Cesar Martinez, a participant in the kidnapping of Sergio Hugo Molaguero, was arrested.
- 2119 11 October. Communique No 67 of the Ministry of the Interior repeated the earlier warning to the population to abstain from engaging in any kind of street "stonings."
- 2120 Circular No 20 of the Ministry of the Interior to the chiefs of police instructed them concerning the interpretation of the provisions limiting the right to free expression of one's thinking.

- 2121 1972 13 October. Guillermo Chiflet, "The River Is Restless,"
MARCHA, 307
- 2122 "Is There a Book?" ULTIMA HORA. 308
- 2123 14 October. In the course of the police operation at No 5558
Arachanes Street in Montevideo, seditious activist Olivar
Caussade, who was involved in the kidnapping of Molaguero,
attempted suicide. He died a short time later.
- 2124 16 October. "Uruguay, 7 Months of Antisubversive Struggle:
1 March to 30 September 1972. Chronology of Seditious Activities
and the Actions of the Joint Forces. Location and Discovery of
Hideouts, Refuges, Underground Constructions in Urban and Rural
Zones, Materials and Weapons Seized, Seditious Plans Frustrated,
Persons Arrested, Persons Killed, Persons Sought, etc.,"
Montevideo, Ministry of Interior publication.
- 2125 18 October. The Supreme Military Court reiterated to the
Ministry of National Defense the appeal for the suspension of
Senator Enrique R. Erro, requested by the Third Session Military
Proceedings Court, because of his subversive activities.
- 2126 26 October. The minister of national defense returned to the
Supreme Military Court, with the prior knowledge of the president
of the republic, the summary background pertaining to Senator
Enrique R. Erro for "expansion of the presentation of the
summary proceedings so that, when the time comes to submit the
case to the senate of the republic for consideration, the
summary proceedings will represent sufficient basis for that
body to consider the matter without basic objections in proper
depth and form."
- 2127 The head of the Batllist Colorado Party's List 15, Jorge Batlle
Ibanez, gave a radio and television speech in which he spoke of
"the wave of rumors the country has experienced in recent weeks,
rumors about institutional instability, rumors about economic
crimes, rumors about the attitude of the political parties with
regard to these facts.. a campaign concerning economic crimes,
political parties and political leaders which has gone so far as
to substitute for or replace sedition itself in the attention
of the public." Reference was made to alleged procedures having
to do with the court case concerning the matter known by the
term "mifeasance," said to have been practiced by the military
authorities, whom he harshly criticized, saying that if this were
done on their own initiative "it reveals a lack of discipline in
a place where discipline is basic" and if this were done "on the
advice of Amodio Perez, it establishes the pattern according to
which some people may be telling the truth when they say that

- 2127 1972 continuing contact with some of the ideologists of sedition and some other people have led them to believe a little in the reasons used as justification by seditious circles for killing officers and killing civilians and kidnapping people." "And if this was done on higher orders, then they must speak clearly," etc.
- 2128 27 October. At 0220 hours, following meeting with commanders in chief of the armed forces and the commander of military region No 1, President Juan Maria Bordaberry called a press conference, telling journalists at Government House that arrangements had been made "to take the proper path with Dr Jorge Batlle, so that he can voice the charges he has made before the proper court, so as to clarify such responsibilities as there may be and in order for him to assume effectively responsibility for what he said. Also, I have arranged to intervene with the military courts for the purposes of determining if there is some other type of responsibility.
- 2129 27 October. At 1450 hours, Jorge Batlle Ibanez, leader of the Batllist Colorado Party's List 15, was arrested at the premises of the daily newspaper ACCION, of which he was an editor, in connection with the speech delivered the preceding day.
- 2130 28 October. At 0430 hours, the commander in chief of the army submitted a request for release, and Gen Jose Verocay Ruhr assumed his duties on an interim basis.
- 2131 At 1845 hours Gen Cesar A. Martinez resumed his duties as commander in chief of the army.
- 2132 "The Address by Batlle -- There Are People Who Create and People Who Destroy," ACCION.³⁰⁹
- 2133 29 October. "Unity and Reform Decide to Over to the Opposition. The Leaders Assume Responsibility for What Jorge Batlle Said," ahora.³¹⁰
- 2134 A communique from the general army command, issued at 2130 hours, stated that the First Session Military Proceedings Court had tried citizen Jorge Batlle Ibanez that day for the crime of "attacking the moral authority of the army," as set forth in Article 8, No 3, of the Military Penal Code, with the aggravating circumstance of the "situation of danger" for which Article 16, No 5, of that code, provides.
- 2135 The president of the republic, Juan Maria Bordaberry, gave an address at 2230 hours via radio and television, pertaining to this court case.

- 2136 1972 30 October. A communique from the Ministry of the Interior called attention to the provision in effect and contained in Articles 148 of the Penal Code (defense of the deeds termed crimes) and 21 and 22 of Law No 14068 dated 10 July 1972 (press crimes) with a view to preventing possible violations in connection with the court trial described.
- 2137 "Revelations and Data About the 'Misfeasance.' The Arrest of Jorge Batlle Revives This Notorious Affair," AHORA.
- 2137a 16 November. Eduardo Galeano, "Latin American Chronicles," Montevideo, Giron.
- 2138 17 November. Law No 14095 pertaining to the punishment of economic crimes was promulgated.
- 2139 21 November. As an MLN-T premise in the downtown sector of Montevideo was being searched, seditious activist Mario Arquimedes Piriz Budes succeeded in eluding the guards and fleeing, losing himself in the considerable crowd passing through the area at the time.
- 2140 23 November. The FFCC arrested wanted seditious activist Maria del Carmen Rodriguez Olariaga, alias "Gabriela" or "Marta."
- 2141 29 November. Senator Amilcar Vasconcellos revealed to the General Assembly the existence of an alleged plan, which he attributed to the armed forces, "to challenge the political authorities gradually" and to "discredit political sectors," based on two documents which he read aloud, etc.³¹¹
- 2142 30 November. Individual guarantees were suspended until 15 February 1973.
- 2143 December. Geronimo de Sierra, Mercedes Quijano, Agustin Cissa, Julio Abulafia, Juan Carlos Santa Cruz, Jose Deniz, "Political Parties and Social Classes in Uruguay. Ideological Aspects," Institute of Social Sciences, University Culture Foundation, Montevideo.
- 2144 MLN-T, Proclamation disseminated in Soca by the Ruben Conziani Command.
- 2145 6 December. During the street search being made by a patrol in Montevideo, near the intersection of Agraciada Avenue and Carlos Maria Ramirez, six unidentified persons refused to show their identity documents and, taking cover behind a truck, opened fire on the members of the patrol, which returned their fire. Student Joaquin Kluver was mortally wounded.

- 2146 1972 8 December. After offering resistance, seditious activist Flavia Ines Schilling Wesp³¹² was arrested in a public thoroughfare in Montevideo. She was carrying false identity documents and a 7.65 caliber pistol,
- 2147 12 December. The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces made an assessment of the national situation at the end of the first year of military pursuit of the antisubversive struggle.³¹³
- 2148 15 December. A Montevideo daily newspaper published the "eight point tactical political plan," drafted on the political level and designed to offset and discredit the antisubversive activities of the armed forces.³¹⁴
- 2149 16 December. During a routine inspection, the building of a tunnel at the Punta Carretas Prison, planned by seditious activists and being carried out by ordinary prisoners, was discovered.
- 2150 22 December. Seditious activists Jorge Lorenzo Bacca Tessa, an escapee from the Punta Carretas Prison, Hector D. Piriz Neubourg and Jorge C. Barboza Santos were arrested in a bar in Montevideo.
- 2151 29 December. Seregni, "Why the Systematic Attack Upon the Front?" AHORA.
- 2152 30 December. Seditious activist Jorge Mauricio Grimberg Ureta was arrested at the house at No 1817 Agraciada Avenue in Montevideo.
- 2153 1973 January. Ruben Yanez, "Fascism and the People," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 2154 2 January. EL POPULAR published a summary of the strikes, walkouts and demonstrations organized by Marxist organizations during 1972, revealing that the central administration had 52 strikes, the autonomous bodies and decentralized services 42, and the educational sector 24. Particular mention was made of the teachers' strike at the end of the school year, which lasted for 45 days. In the private sector there were 104 strikes and the CNT [National Convention of Workers] decreed 11 partial strikes immobilizing 60 percent of the workers and 7 national strikes affecting 70 percent.
- 2154a 10 January. The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces approved the "Doctrinary Bases for the Holding of Posts in Civilian State Bodies by Military Personnel,"³¹⁵

- 2154b 1973 29 January. MLN-T members stole a rifle and a revolver from the home of an armed forces officer in Montevideo,
- 2154c 1 February. Senator Amilcar Vasconcellos released a letter attacking the armed forces and charging them with the intention of displacing government institutions.³¹⁶
- 2154d 2 February. The president of the republic, Juan Maria Bordaberry, responded to this letter, rejecting its implications.³¹⁷
- 2154e 7 February. The general command of the army and the air force issued a communique denying the charges referred to and formulating various clarifications concerning the position of the armed forces.³¹⁸
- 2154f The president of the republic appointed a new minister of national defense.³¹⁹
- 2154g The CNT issued a communique urging the seizure of factories and work sites.³²⁰
- 2154h 8 February. The commander in chief of the army, Gen Cesar Martinez, submitted his resignation and a replacement was appointed.
- 2154i The general army commands ignored the orders of the new minister of national defense, Gen Antonio Francese, and issued a communique explaining to the people the reasons for this attitude and suggesting to the president of the republic that he replace this official.³²¹
- 2154j Gen Antonio Francese submitted his resignation as minister of national defense to the president, who refused to accept it.
- 2154k 8 February. At 2230 hours, the president of the republic, accompanied by the minister of national defense, speaking from the balcony of Government House, directed an appeal to the people via radio and television for "the defense of our institutions" and announced that the minister referred to would remain in his post.³²²
- 2154-1 The army took over the radio and television channels.
- 2155 9 February. At 2230 hours, the general commands of the army and the air force issued communique No 4/73, defining their position with regard to the existing crisis.³²³
- 2156 Naval personnel closed off the old city of Montevideo by means of a barricade running from the bay to the city opposite Juan Carlos Gomez Street, and the commander in chief of that branch issued a public statement declaring it "loyal to our institutions."

- 2157 1973 The military commands recognized their ranking senior general as operational commander of the army.
- 2158 The president of the FA, Liber Seregni, gave a speech in which he said that "the government has become the greatest agent of the disturbance from which the fatherland is suffering," for which reason it was his view that the president of the republic should resign, etc.
- 2159 10 February. Joint military command of the army, air force and police issued a communique pertaining to the unity of position and thinking among these forces.
- 2160 The general commands of the army and the air force issued communique No 7/73, supplementing No 4/73, dated the preceding day.³²⁴
- 2161 11. February. The military commands of the army and air force sent to the president of the republic a memorandum pertaining to the immediate hopes of the armed forces for alleviating the crisis.³²⁵
- 2162 13 February. The president of the republic met with the military commands at the Boiso Lanza Air Base, agreement being reached on certain points, detailed in a memorandum, pertaining to the recovery and development of the country and the eradication of subversion.³²⁶
- 2163 14 February. The president of the republic gave a radio and television address in which he spoke of the preceding events and noted the need for the armed forces to participate in the national task, undertaking the mission of providing security for development, etc.³²⁷
- 2164 15 February. The national representative board of the CNT issued a statement warning the "trade union movement of the need to be vigilant and ready for the fulfillment of the resolutions adopted by the successive congresses of the CNT concerning the decision to call a general strike and to take over labor sites," etc.
- 2165 16 February. Those responsible for the assassination of Col Artigas G. Alvarez were identified and arrested. They proved to be the following MLN-T members: Jose Maria Perez Lutz, Angel Maria Yoldi, Alba Mabel Martinez Antunez de Balmelli, Jose Luis Rodriguez, Alberto Costa Barreiro, Loreley Alemani, Enrique Espinosa, Fernando Mayans Eguiguren, Juan Victor Vivanco Reyes, the last mentioned and Loreley Alemani remaining at large.

- 2166 1973 16 February. "The Era of the Military," MARCHA,
- 2167 17 February. With a request for the further extension of the suspension of individual guarantees, the minister of the interior told the permanent commission that "to seek to eradicate subversion by means of force is impossible. It will be necessary to capture their banners, to win over the youth, so that they will not be deceived,... These banners which to the hasty thinker, in the opinion of the man of the people, are providing this movement with a justification, must be conquered in order to avoid the contradictions." He added that there were still 41 persons awaiting court trial, 14 being detained because of their dangerous nature, while others were out on bail or had authorization to leave the country. In all, there were 45 persons arrested but not yet tried and 321 for whom warrants had been issued but who were not in custody. By a vote of 6 to 5, the permanent commission of the legislature authorized the extension requested.
- 2168 19 February. The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces approved the General Plan for the Use of the Armed Forces.³²⁸
- 2169 23 February. The COSENA [National Security Council] was created.³²⁹
- 2170 28 February. Profiting from the pretext of a seditious activist that he urgently needed medical care, four seditious activists being held at a military unit succeeded in escaping. They were Gabino Martin Falero Montes de Oca, Asdrubal Pereyra Cabrera, Liber Fernando De Lucia Grajales and Jorge Mario Blanco Gonzalez.
- 2171 March. "Seven Days Which Changed Uruguay," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 68, Montevideo.
- 2172 7 March. Some ten MLN-T members, after stealing a light truck, stole goods from the Granja Valdez, located at No 1382 Pedro Berro Street, Montevideo, and then fled in the vehicle.
- 2173 13 March. During an operation being carried out at Millan Avenue and Ariel Road in Montevideo, seditious activist Robert Julio Gomensoro Gosman succeeded in getting away.³³⁰
- 2174 19 March. The circumstances of the kidnapping and later assassination of Dan A. Mitrioni were clarified. It was established that the following seditious activists planned and carried out the operation: Armando Blanco Katras,³³¹ Rodolfo Wolf, Henry Engler, Antonio Mas Mas, Esteban Jorge Pereyra Mena and Aurelio S. Fernandez Pena.³³² The assassins identified Antonio Mas Mas as the one of their number who committed the murder.

- 2175 1973 20 March. The senate approved a motion to summon the minister of national defense for an explanation, among other things, of the acts of "disobedience and crime" committed by high ranking military officers.³³³
- 2176 22 March. Police officer Facundo Goni, who was wounded on 14 April 1972 in the attack during which subcommissioner Oscar Delega and agent Leites Carfagno lost their lives, died.
- 2177 23 March. The armed forces issued a communique energetically denouncing the "maneuvers of certain privileged sectors which do not want to see themselves removed from a situation which had for a long time given them power and personal benefit," and noting various irregularities which had occurred in the public sector (Montevideo Departmental Council, the BROU, the pension system, unjustified housing loans to legislators and employees of the legislative branch, failure of the senate to take action on charges made by the office of the controller of the currency, etc.³³⁴
- 2178 26 March. The CNT made a statement pertaining to a program of solutions for the national crisis and called upon the workers to carry out a general strike, with takeover of labor premises, denunciations of the controller's office, etc.³³⁵
- 2179 27 March. The board of the National Party, dominated by the majority sector headed by Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, issued a statement against the government and the armed forces.³³⁶
- 2180 28 March. The president of the republic sent a letter to that senator in connection with the statement referred to above.³³⁷
- 2181 29 March. The general strike urged by the CNT was called, and in a public ceremony held at the end of this day, a number of speakers made statements to journalists, and said that they had talked the preceding day with high ranking armed forces commanders.³³⁸
- 2182 30 March. In statements to the press, Senator Ferreiro Aldunate said that the president of the republic should resign, and that if he did not, matters would proceed toward a political trial, etc.³³⁹
- 2183 31 March. The General Assembly undertook consideration of a further request for extension of the suspension of individual guarantees, submitted by the executive branch, providing an opportunity for all kinds of diatribes by various legislators against the government and the armed forces. In the end the request was approved by 65 of the 128 votes present.³⁴⁰

- 2184 1973 April. "The Military Era," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 69, Montevideo.
- 2185 April. Wladimir Turlansky, "The Uruguayan Workers Movement," Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos.
- 2186 Amilcar Vasconcellos, "Bitter February," Montevideo, Vanguardia Graphic Workshops.
- 2187 3 April. The functioning of the joint chiefs of staff and the combined general staff was established on a definitive basis.³⁴¹
- 2188 "What Is the Conspiracy?" EL PAIS, Montevideo.
- 2188a 9 April. The joint chiefs of staff of the armed forces issued a communique reiterating their view with regard to the statement formulated by the CNT.³⁴²
- 2189 14 April. A memorial slab bearing the names of the police officers who had fallen in the struggle against sedition, was unveiled in the central patio at the ministry of the interior.
- 2190 16 April. "Important Changes Foreseen in Uruguayan Foreign Policy: Uruguayan Switch at the Washington Meeting of the OAS Surprises Observers." "Our delegation, in fact, supported the demands for a drastic reorganization of the OAS and even, beyond that, indicated its support of the Chilean proposal for the creation of a Latin American system for close political coordination. It supported Panama's claims with regard to the canal, and actively supported the Latin American nations which organized the proclamation of the principle of 'ideological pluralism,' an immediate precedent for the reincorporation of Cuba in the Panamerican organizations," etc., AHORA.
- 2191 22 April. Under the headline "Criticism or Self-criticism? Only Radical Changes Will Free Uruguay from Economic Dependence," the Sunday review of the daily newspaper AHORA reported the statements by Hector Giorgi, former secretary to the office of the president of the republic.
- 2192 23 April. The minister of the interior ruled that once the sentences imposed by the courts had been served, foreign MLN-T members Laureano Juan Riera Galeano and Juan Pablo Mirza Barzeghi would be expelled from the country,
- 2193 25 April. The executive branch sent to the senate the files pertaining to the petition for the suspension of Senator Enrique R. Erro, submitted by the Military Courts, indicating that "there exists semicomplete proof of the commission of grave

- 2193 1973 crimes of harm to the nation by that citizen, precluding any need to enforce any resolution of the matter submitted for the consideration of this chamber,"³⁴³
- 2194 30 April. Senator Enrique R. Erro stated to the Senate Constitution and Legislation Commission considering the request for his suspension: "...I have never been nor am I a member of the Tupamaro Liberation Movement nor any similar organization. I have never participated in any of these movements nor collaborated with them," adding subsequently that "this file is totally and absolutely without validity from the first line to the last," etc.
- 2194a May. Mariano Arana, Alfredo Errandonea, Roque Faraone, Reina Reyes, Juan Jose Flo, and Luis Elbert, "Information and Social Communication," Montevideo, University of the Republic Publications, Barreiro y Ramos, S.A.
- 2195 May. Paulo Freire, "Extension of Communication? Consciousness Raising in the Rural Environment," preface by Jacques Chonchol, translation by Lilian Ronzoni, Montevideo, Tierra Nuevo.
- 2196 The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces approved the "Report of National Goals and Standards for National Planning and Conduct" as a doctrinal tool for security for development.
- 2197 2 May. Senator Enrique R. Erro answered in writing a 12 point questionnaire drafted by the commission studying the petition for his suspension.
- 2198 4 May. The Senate Constitution and Legislation Commission acting in this matter sent a note to the minister of the national defense asking him to "inform the Supreme Military Court that this commission desires to interrogate the persons whose statements are included in the file justifying the request for suspension."
- 2199 4 May. Senator W. Ferreira Aldunate stated to the senate that "former Tupamaro leader Hector Amodio Perez met during the night-time hours with army officers and a military journalist in a military unit."
- 2200 6 May. "An Alleged Letter from Amodio Perez to a Leftist Journalist," EL PAIS.
- 2201 7 May. Two persons unknown, presumably affiliated with the seditious organization, stole items worth \$7,051 from the Traveltours Agency located at No 724 25 May in Montevideo.

- 2202 1973 The minister of national defense sent a note to the president of the General Assembly stating that, without prejudice to the report of the Supreme Military Court (which set forth a different doctrinary view), "the executive branch has decided to authorize an interview between the members of the Constitution and Legislation Commission of the Senate and seditious organization member Hector Amodio Perez, in order to verify his physical presence and the authenticity of his testimony. This prisoner was captured by the FFCC following his escape from the Punta Carretas Prison, during the civil war period, and was detained by the Military Command in order to obtain operational military information for the conduct of the antisubversive struggle."
- 2203 The president and other members of the Senate Constitution and Legislation Commission met with seditious activist Hector Amodio Perez at the headquarters of the IMES [Higher Military Studies Institute]. He confirmed and expanded the responses set forth in the file submitted by the Military Court pertaining to the petition for the suspension of Senator Erro, providing the interviewers with "the certainty that the contact mentioned between Senator Erro and MLN-T members did in fact occur," etc.
- 2204 9 May. In the senate session on this date, Senator Eduardo Paz Aguirre spoke of the interview described above and said that Federico Fasano Mertens received a letter from Hector Amodio Perez in which there was mention of a plot or conspiracy between the armed forces and the seditious activist "to discredit the political parties and politicians, as a function of a book which would be written by Senator Amodio Perez and to be revised or perfected with the skill which we know Mr Fasano to have." Senator W. Ferreira Aldunate said for his part that "Colonel Trabal is familiar with the document and must have it in his possession" and that "on Saturday, 30 September 1972, I visited the commander in chief of the army, General Martinez, and delivered to him a photostatic copy of this document, informing him of a meeting which was being held at that very moment in a military unit in the capital." Senator Zelmar Michelini said: "The man I set apart entirely is Mr Fasano, for it was thanks to his action that all of this was frustrated. And I believe that Senator Ferreira Aldunate, who was a leading actor in these events, for he behaved in an extremely speedy and clear fashion, can perhaps attest to what I say. Mr Fasano categorically rejected the drafting and publication of the book and immediately made the maneuver which was being plotted known on the political level and to the persons to whom he felt it was pertinent, submitting the document involved and eschewing a substantial sum of money." Ferreira Aldunate then added; "But I must also say that in this emergency, and I do not know for what reasons or due to what motives he acted, Fasano contributed effectively to frustrating a plot against the institutions and the political system of the

- 2204 1973 country. I believe that if Amodio's book was not published, it was purely and exclusively because its undertaking was made known to honorable military men who contributed to preventing its publication."
- 2205 11 May. The Senate Constitution and Legislation Commission submitted a report to the plenary session, signed by three of its members, stating that the charges and evidence gathered concerning Senator Erro "are without room for doubt serious, because the commission attributes to him repeated acts which characterize at the very least the crime of concealment of an attack on the constitution (Articles 132, including No 6, of the Penal Code and 60,³⁴⁶ No 6, of the Military Penal Code)," for which reason it has decided to decree that "there is cause for due process of law" and "to declare him suspended from his functions, pursuant to the provisions of Article 114 of the Constitution."
- 2206 15 May. The joint commanders in chief sent a memorandum to the president of the republic pertaining to the task assigned to the armed forces, the difficulties in carrying it out and the solutions for overcoming these difficulties.
- 2207 The Senate Chamber began discussion of the petition for the suspension of senate member Enrique R. Erro submitted by the military courts and reiterated by that authority the preceding 18 October.
- 2208 16 May. The executive branch sent a message to the senate urging it to rule "concerning the petition for suspension formulated by the competent organs of the Military Penal Courts in connection with Senator Enrique Erro and sent to that body on 25 April last. The reason for this request is the obvious state of public disturbance which the extension of this proceeding is causing in the republic... This authority regards the present appeal for definitive resolution of the case to be pertinent, with a view to putting an end to the situation of concern which it has caused in the minds of the national public," etc.
- 2209 The preceding message provoked wrathful comments from various senators. Senator Mario Heber Usher said: "Without a doubt this message from the executive branch which the senate has received and which has been read by the board merits comment and, in principle, rejection... I see in this note insolence and cynicism on the part of the executive branch and for this reason I condemn and reject it... They have just given us justification for the thinking that the motive here is not Erro, but that what is desired is to put an end to representative democracy in the country..., " etc. Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate said: "The worst

2209 1973 thing we can do, however great the indignation which possesses us may be -- not surprise, because this is what was to be expected from individuals -- the only thing we must not put into practice is something which might make it seem that we have lost our calm and that we feel wounded... It will not be the insolence of individuals accidentally raised to power which will alter the rhythm which the senate of the republic wants to give to its work... The executive branch received this file on 5 April. In this connection it had absolutely no investigation to make, no step to be adopted, no provisions to be approved. It simply sent it to the senate and it took 20 days to do this. The file was received on 5 April and a note was sent to the senate on the 25th. It was received here just 2 days ago. In reality, the 2 days should be 22... The senate of the republic questioned witnesses, carefully analyzed all the background in the case, gathered legal opinions, discussed the subject, received the report of the commission, had it distributed and finally began debate in the chamber. All of this process took 17 days, that is to say, 3 days less than the time it took Mr Bordaberry to send the papers. And Bordaberry has the impertinence to urge us now to speed up the handling of our work because we are creating a public commotion, when everyone knows who is totally responsible for this commotion... I am going to vote for a recess to show very clearly that we are working at a rate which does not change at a whim," etc. Senator Amilcar Vasconcellos said that with this note from the executive branch, as in a story to which he referred, "the situation, in terms of its gravity, shows a slight deterioration..." "It is obviously being sought to make the senate appear to the public as the protagonist of a disturbance, in seeking to delay this proceeding," while "the facts show that the senate has been working seriously, and with great concern throughout this whole problem." "...This note is the evidence that an effort is being made to make it seem to the public, tomorrow or in the days to come -- in an effort to justify attitudes which events are outlining clearly -- as responsible for a commotion because of failure to resolve this problem," etc. Senator Julio Carlos Pereyra referred to the "gradual excesses into which the armed forces commands were lapsing, until the February events occurred, and how they were displacing the political authorities," and he added: "The main individual responsible is none other than the president of the republic, a president of the republic not worthy of the post because he was unable to measure up to the authority, the responsibilities and the dignity with which this post is invested... He came to the presidency of the republic by chance, as a part of a political maneuver invented by those favoring reelection, utilizing the name of Pacheco Areco and the theory that he was the only salvation faced with the danger of the Tupamaros," etc. Senator Walter Santoro stated that "the parliamentary bodies establish

- 2209 1973 the system of procedure which suits the nature of their work, the subject being considered, its own style, customs and traditions. The senate is working on the subject as it has naturally done on others of similar importance... We have more than enough reasons, following this note, to say that it is we who should manage our time, establishing the way in which we are going to carry out our work." Senator Juan Pablo Terra expressed his inclination to go into recess for reasons of the workload, and he said: "The note from the executive branch does not influence me for or against. I am not prepared to enter into Mr Bordaberry's game pro or con. I believe that experience shows how things end when people allow themselves to be carried away in his game." Finally, at 0450 hours on the 17th, the senate voted to recess until 1700 hours that same day.
- 2210 17 May. The senate received a note from the president of the Chamber of Representatives, Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, stating that "representative Don Carlos M. Fleitas, speaking on behalf of the National Reelectionist Union, has submitted to this office at 2045 this date a request for the following political charges against Senator Don Enrique R. Erro."
- 2211 17 May. In view of the existence of two separate proceedings, "one involving the suspension of Senator Erro and the other a political trial, in which the senate will be the judge," and with a view to avoiding duplication, Senator Angel Rath put forth a motion that the senate postponed the "suspension proceedings, so that when the time comes to make a decision, it can do so with regard to the political trial."
- 2212 Senators Alembert Vaz and Walter Santoro submitted the following motion to the senate: "In view of the statement from the Chamber of Representatives pertaining to the request for the filing of political charges against Senator Enrique Erro, the senate declined to take up the matter in view of the suspension of the senator in question." The first mentioned senator clarified the meaning of the motion as follows: "There is a kind of incompatibility in the simultaneous pursuit of two proceedings designed to achieve the same objective." Therefore, he added, the senate "must refuse jurisdiction because the subject is currently being dealt with, awaiting the pronouncement of the decision of the Chamber of Representatives which, in the final analysis, will come to the senate chamber as an appealscourt."
- 2213 After a brief discussion, the senate approved the above described motion by 25 of the 28 votes present.³⁴⁷
- 2214 17 May. The senate also approved, by 19 out of 21 votes, a motion put forth by Senator Zelmar Michelini "for the drafting of a memorandum to be communicated to the executive branch asking for the immediate suspension of the measures limiting the

- 2214 1973 freedom of Senator Erro," to which that individual had just referred in the chamber a few moments earlier.
- 2215 27 May. PCR [Revolutionary Communist Party], "More Repression," Montevideo.
- 2216 June. Red Group (teachers), "In view of the Fascist Attack on Our Institute," Montevideo.
- 2217 Federico Fosano Martens, "The Presses Have Stopped," Montevideo, October Publishing House,³⁴⁸
- 2218 15 June. Mario Esposito, "Argentina -- The Guerrilla Fighters Speak," MARCHA.³⁴⁹
- 2219 21 June. The Chamber of Representatives, after lengthy debate, rejected the recommendations for filing political charges against FA Senator Enrique R. Erro, whose suspension was requested by the Military Courts the preceding year because of his links with the seditious organization.³⁵⁰
- 2220 27 June. In view of the fact that "the criminal action of conspiracy against the fatherland, linked with the complacency of political groups lacking national feeling, is to be found in our institutions themselves, thus being presented under the cover of a formally legal activity," the executive branch dissolved the senatorial and representative chambers, and created a state council with the functions of legislation, administrative control and the mission of planning a constitutional reform which would reassert republican-democratic principles, limit freedom of thought and authorize the armed forces and the police to guarantee the uninterrupted provision of public services.³⁵¹
- 2221 A warrant was issued for the arrest of former Senator Enrique R. Erro because of his affiliation with the MLN-T.³⁵²
- 2222 28 June. The CNT published the five points it deemed indispensable for the recovery of the country: 1) full effect of the guarantees for trade unions and political activity and freedom of expression; 2) economic reform measures, in particular nationalization of the banks, foreign trade and the cold storage industry; 3) rebuilding of the purchasing power of salaries, wages and pensions and containment of prices, with subsidies for people's consumer goods; 4) eradication of the "fascist gangs" functioning in the educational sector; 5) coordination of parents', teachers' and students' efforts with a view to the normal resumption of courses.

- 2223 1973 The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces approved the directive to be pursued by subordinate commands in direct dealings with civilians, including those arrested.³⁵³
- 2224 30 June. The CNT was dissolved and decreed illegal, its premises were ordered shut down and its leaders arrested, etc.³⁵⁴
- 2225 Message No 2 of the Secretariat of the FA, "Information for the Resistance."³⁵⁵
- 2226 July. MLN-T, CORREO TUPAMARO, "MLN Statement to the People."³⁵⁶
- 2226a July. Paulo R. Schilling, "Will Brazil Go to War"?, Montevideo, University Culture Foundation.
- 2227 1 July. FA, "In View of the 27 June Coup d'Etat."³⁵⁷
- 2228 5 July. Warrants were issued for the arrest of 52 CNT leaders who had disappeared from their homes and gone underground.³⁵⁸
- 2229 7 July. Two unidentified persons who were robbing a passenger bus at Pedro Bustamante Street and Rivera Avenue opened fire when surprised by military patrol, resulting in the mortal wounding of student Alberto Ramon Pere Bardier.
- 2230 8 July. Fliers put out by the Northern Board of the CNT called upon the people to rally at 1630 hours on Monday, 9 July, on 18 July Avenue in Montevideo, and stated that Alberto Ramon Pere Bardier "was murdered" by the police as he was passing out leaflets.
- 2231 9 July. At 1700 hours, disturbances developed on the main avenue of Montevideo, and when the authorities intervened, a clash occurred, resulting in the injury of 27 persons and the arrest of 100 others, including the president of the FA, Liber Seregni.
- 2232 21 July. Political commissioner of the MLN-T, "Internal Circular No 2," Montevideo.
- 2233 27 July. At 2200 hours, MLN-T members set off an explosive artifact at the Bohemios Club, located at No 3025 Gabriel Pereyra Street in Montevideo, and distributed copies of the July 1973 CORREO TUPAMARO.
- 2234 28 July. The vice president of the republic, Jorge Sapelli, issued a statement in connection with the offer of the post of President of the Council of State made to him, and reiterated that his sole commitment "has been and will always be to the entire nation and the constitution, which I have pledged on my honor to safeguard and defend," etc.

- 2235 1973 August. MLN-T Communique No 1, Montevideo.
- 2236 August. Hector Rodriguez published an open letter to the president of the republic, expressing doubt of the purity of his intentions, because "in politics intention is not enough and it is deeds which define the purity of intentions and even make it possible to form a conviction about them." "The triple power of a state ownership, private banking and foreign trade under foreign control are the causes of national stagnation, which is today expressed in a reduced physical volume of exports of meat and wool, and in the real shame of importing food from the temperate zone (wheat, fish, hogs, etc.). However much it puts its shoulders to the wheel, Uruguay will not advance while this triple system of economic aggression prevails."³⁵⁹
- 2237 1 August. The executive branch regulated the functioning of the trade unions.
- 2238 The president of the republic sent a letter to the vice president in which, referring to the latter's recent statements, he said: "Your thinking is not the most propitious for occupying the post (president of the Council of State) which I offered you." "Indeed, you have sworn on your honor, as I have, to safeguard and defend the constitution of the republic. The difference lies in the fact that my sense of duty and fulfillment of the oath made has prevented me from boldly seeing how the discredit of the institutions, due to the actions of bad politicians and their use by the enemies of the fatherland who have been hypocritically inserted in them, would in the end reach the very foundations of our social and political organization." "...The renewed and purified parties and the people as a whole today have a broad place in the government and full participation in the national administration."
- 2239 3 August. The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces issued a communique warning that "we will not tolerate any type of armed organization apart from our own ranks or those of the police, whatever goals it may pursue... The weapons in the hands of the armed forces, because they belong to all the people without distinction, must serve to unite us; in the hands of others they bear the name of the sector or group and only serve to turn us against each other."
- 2240 Americo Pla Rodriguez, "An Unconstitutional Regulation. The State and the Trade Unions," MARCHA.
- 2241 "The Brazilian Model. The Church Denounces Torture," MARCHA.
- 2242 6 August. "Twenty Years After the Moncada Barracks," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 72, Montevideo,

- 2243 1973 13 August. EMR [Military Imprisonment Establishment],³⁶⁰
No 1, RECLUSAS, "Enigmathography," Montevideo.
- 2244 31 August. While various seditious activists were being transported to the Montevideo police headquarters for visits with their families, the security system of the vehicle in which they were riding failed such that MLN-T members Anahy Elina Cabrera Suredo,³⁶¹ Gladys Victoria Moreira Molina and Maria Rosa Veira Gramon succeeded in escaping.
- 2245 September. PRENSA LIBRE, "Chile in Arms Against Fascism," Montevideo.
- 2246 3 September. Following an attack, seditious activist Hugo Leonardo de los Santos Mendoza died.³⁶²
- 2247 7 September. Vivian Trias, "The Armed Forces and Politics in Latin America. The Argentine Model," EL ORIENTAL, No 194, Montevideo.
- 2248 A warrant for the arrest of the former president of the Chamber of Representatives, Hector Jose Gutierrez Ruiz, was issued, on charges of simulation of a crime, concealment of an attack on the Constitution on the conspiracy level, and preparatory activities and aid in association for criminal purposes.³⁶³
- 2249 24 September. The joint commanders in chief of the armed forces established directives to be followed by the military personnel rendering service in public departments.³⁶⁴
- 2250 26 September. In San Miguel, Department of Rocha, sessions began with the president of the republic and members of the ministerial cabinet and representatives of the armed forces participating, to analyze the national situation and establish the basic guidelines for the recovery of the country.³⁶⁵
- 2251 October. Joint Declaration by the ERP [Revolutionary People's Army] and the MLN.³⁶⁶
- 2252 Santicaten, "Uruguay Reencounters Its Destiny. Chronicle of a Revolution," Montevideo, Panamericana.
- 2253 5 October. The police authorities arrested seditious activist Eduardo Abeleira Gimenez in Montevideo as he was seeking to organize the student disturbance in the environs of secondary school No 26, located at Joaquin Requena and Bella Vista. UJC [Union of Communist Youth] and FER [Revolutionary Student Front]-68 pamphlets, in which reference was made to the calling of a coordinated strike for the balance of that week, were seized.³⁶⁷

- 2254 1973 6 October. The sessions begun on 26 September in San Miguel were continued in the locality of Colonia Suiza, Department of Colonia.³⁶⁸
- 2255 26 October. A seditious base was discovered in apartment No 3, 717 Juan Lavalle Street, in Montevideo, and Ruben Elias Dutra³⁶⁹ and Anahit Anaronian Kharpoutlian³⁷⁰ were arrested.
- 2256 27 October. A sizeable explosion occurred at the Faculty of Engineering, when an artifact being handled by student Marcos Caridad Jordan, who was killed, went off. When the authorities investigated, they found large quantities of explosive material, propaganda and other materials belonging to the 26 March Movement, FER-68 and the GAU [Groups for Unified Action] stored at that higher educational institution. A search made some hours later of the premises of the Faculties of Architecture, Medicine, Chemistry, Humanities, Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine and the central building at the university turned up subversive materials in all of them.
- 2257 28 October. The executive branch decided to intervene in the administration of the University of the Republic and ordered the arrest of the members of its administrative council, etc.³⁷¹
- 2258 30 October. CNT Statement, "The Outrage Against the University," Montevideo.³⁷²
- 2259 1 November. As a result of the investigations begun following the events on 27 October, the dean of the faculty of engineering, Julio Alberto Ricaldoni Morelli, and various other persons in the advisory and student sectors were arrested, and on the basis of their statements, it was possible to identify and apprehend more than 30 members of the GAU who were involved.
- 2260 1 November. Twenty-one members of the FER-68 responsible for various criminal acts were turned over to the Military Courts: Alberto Braulio Renteria Lopez, Ruben Dario Invernizzi Medina, Carlos Antonio Manosa Rivas, Juan Jose Sanchez Rodriguez, Hugo Washington Echeveste Riverol, Mario Cesar Rodriguez Villar, Silvia Cristina Olivera Lepsik, Nestor Daniel Soderguir Larrosa, Maria Laura Pereira Blasina, Maria del Carmen Sposito Balzarini, Jose Carlo Ben Moreno, Ricardo Joaquin Alonso Pires, Oscar Jose Mucetti Lamas,³⁷³ Jose Ricardo Preijo Fedorchenko,³⁷⁴ Jose Ramon Pintos Techera, Hector Ariel Gerolami Gonzalez, Artigas Roberto Tabarez Alfonso, Gerardo Maximo Somaruga Tilio, Maria del Rosario Pilo Yanez, Tabare Ariel Eduardo Ardissona Guccetti and Pedro Raul Manana Sosa.

- 2261 1973 5 November. The members of the CAT which used as a front for its activities a student group called the PER were arrested: Ulises Dario Pereira Panizza,³⁷⁵ Claudino Daniel Illas Moreira,³⁷⁶ and Julian Gonzalez Bermudez.³⁷⁷
- 2262 6 November. Persons unknown representing themselves as "revolutionaries" stole a Fiat automobile belonging to Baldomero Lorenzo Benguet Sucu, and shortly afterward, used that vehicle in the theft of a shotgun from the home of Guillermo Insaurreide at No 2166 Dionisio Lopez Street.
- 2263 14 November. Three unidentified persons "pinched" a taxi at the intersection of Lezica Avenue and Nina.
- 2264 17 November. Persons unknown who identified themselves as members of a "Revolutionary Youth Command" stole an Indio brand light truck, with which they shortly thereafter committed robbery at a shop at No 4749 Asamblea Street, where they stole goods worth \$100,000.
- 2265 21 November. "Scarcity, Unemployment, Repression, Despair -- They Affect Thousands of Uruguayans in the Country," COMPANERO, No 64, Montevideo.
- 2266 24 November. The Montevideo newspapers reprinted "University Documents 1," a joint official publication by the Ministries of the Interior, National Defense and Education and Culture, containing extensive documentary and graphic information on Marxist infiltration and politization of the university.
- 2267 An unidentified person who succeeded in getting away shot and wounded police agent Santos Ely Nunez Pereira in a public thoroughfare.
- 2268 Two unidentified persons wearing white robes took the cleaning man in the FYLSA meat establishment by surprise, destroyed the door of the safe and stole assets worth \$1,000.
- 2269 28 November. The following organizations supporting international Marxist ideology were dissolved and declared illegal. Their premises were shut down and their assets seized: PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay], PS [Socialist Party], UP, 26 March Movement, MRO [Uruguayan Revolutionary Movement], PCR [Revolutionary Communist Party], Red Groups, UJC [Union of Communist Youth], POR [Revolutionary Workers Party], FEUU [Federation of University Students of Uruguay], ROE, GAU [Groups for Unified Action] and GAD, the daily newspapers EL POPULAR and CRONICA were shut down, and the publication of others continuing their tradition was forbidden.³⁷⁸

- 2270 1973 Student extremists Irma Gladis Leites Dalto, Richard Anibal Pineira Gimenez and Enrique Pagola de Martini were arrested, and subversive materials and survey notes in their possession were seized.
- 2271 30 November. Three unidentified persons entered the home of fireman Diego Rodriguez Martinez during his absence, and set a fire.
- 2272 31 November. GAU, "Mass Mobilization Tactics."
- 2273 December. ROE, "Student Murdered," Montevideo.
- 2274 13 December. Twenty-five members were appointed to the Council of State, with former senator Martin R. Echegoyen being named president.
- 2275 19 December. A seditious base was discovered at a premise located at Industria and Corumbe Streets in Montevideo, where a "military productions" workshop operated, making shovels and various other tools for the digging of tunnels, hideouts, etc. Weapons of various calibers and propaganda materials were seized.

FOOTNOTES

1. Chapter IV.
2. Chapter IV, 2, "Events and Ideas," Nos 147-150.
3. Pseudonym of Joaquin Martinez Arboleya.
4. Speech at the 7th Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers convoked by the OAS, in Punta del Este.
5. Articles by Hernan Piriz, Eduardo H. Galeano, Marcos Gabay, Marco Antonio Coelho, Jose Miguel Varas and Niko Schvartz.
6. Written with the collaboration of Carlos Real de Azua, Aurelio Lucchini, Ofelia Muras, Arturo Ardao, Washington Buno, Lauro Ayestaran and Susana Salgado; foreword by Eugenio Petit Munoz.
7. Eugeni Bugayev, Nicolai Mastovet, Alexei Rumiantsev, Vladimir E. Tijmeniev and Mikhail Kremne, the latter representing the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM.
8. Blas Roca Caldeiro, Jose Naranjo y Morales, and Pedro Romero Fernandez.
9. Rodolfo Ghioldi and Alberto Ferrari.

10. Mario Monje and Mario Molina.
11. Joao Surella and Jacob [illegible].
12. Hernando Hurtado.
13. Manuel Cantero and Jose Agustin Gonzalez.
14. Ricardo Hernan Acevedo Cortes.
15. Raoul Calas.
16. Rienzo Trivelli.
17. Jose Jara.
18. Alfredo Abarca.
19. Popular term applied to the poor urban slums, the equivalent of the Argentine "villas miseria" [poverty towns] or the Brazilian "favelas" [shanty towns].
20. Supplementary operations based on the statements by the participants in the concealment of the stolen weapons revealed the role played by the CUDES [Single Center of Students of Paysandu] as a meeting place for the plotters and the participation in the events by Humberto Antolin Gonzalez Peria, Ricardo Volpe Ayre, Ruben Mendez Martinez, Fermin Ramos Silveira and Raul Cabillon Stefini, all with a clear pro-Castro inclination. In particular, the rebellious purpose sought was made particularly clear, for the operation was to culminate in the armed seizure of land on the northern coast of the country, to which the Prensa Latina and TASS news agencies would give broad international publicity, etc.
21. The writers included W. A. Vissert Hooft, "Christian Lay Movement and the New Ecumenical Climate"; Rene L. Beaupere, "The Placement and Role of Christian Lay Movements as Seen by the Churches," the Roman Catholic view; Nikos Nissiotis, the orthodox view; Ralph Young, the Protestant view; Patrick C. Rodger, "The Current Situation with Regard to Intercommunion."
22. Introduction by Alfonso Lagomarsino; reasons for the conference, by Augusto E. Fernandez Arlt; opening address by Hugo Roland; the Catholic church, by Hector Borrat; the Protestant church, by Jose A. Miguez Bonino; and the YMCA program, by Hector Carelli Diaz.
23. "Oribe." A veteran member of the MLN-T, he worked on the trade union level, participating in the theft of weapons from the Bella Union customs office, the attack on the Collections Bank, during which he was arrested, along with Vique and Castillo, and a member of the 20-North column command, etc.

24. "Rosendo," "Enrique," "Ata." He participated in the attack on the San Rafael Casino and the Pan de Azucar Bank, Aigua branch. A friend of "Leonel," he was a member of the 30-south column and participated in the construction of the Martin Aquino hideout. He fled during the "Abuso," etc.
25. Council members Alberto Abdala, Alberto Heber and Amilcar Vasconcellos voted against breaking off relations.
26. "Abdon," "El Viejo." A member of the executive board of the MLN-T since the beginnings of the movement, he was a professor at the National School of Fine Arts and a militant in the PS. After his arrest, he continued to be a member of the group of leaders of the seditious organization in the prison. He played an outstanding role in the implementation of the Collar plan, etc.
27. "Gonzalo," "El Flaco Gonzalo." Expelled from the UJC [Union of Communist Youth] in 1963 along with Julio Arizaga, because of his pro-Chinese inclinations, they founded the MIR. A member of the MLN-T, he engaged in political work, especially through the cane cutters union. He then served with the 26 March Movement, on the executive level, being entrusted with work in the interior and radio broadcasting, etc.
28. According to this communique, Sendic was the subject of an extradition request by the Uruguayan authorities.
29. Pseudonym.
30. Sarandy Cabrera Pinon, "Cecilio." A member of the PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay] and leader of the ICUCH [Uruguayan-Chinese Cultural Institute], he lived in Peking for 3 years with his family. A member of the MLN-T and a comrade of "Isabel," he served as a political instructor in column 1, giving courses on Marxism. A friend of "Leonel," he appeared to be affiliated with the activities of the organization on the political front, and when he returned from Cuba, he worked on the creation of a publishing house which published the many reports of the movement. In the early months of 1971 he was in charge of correcting the books written in the Punta Carretas Prison -- "Tupamaro Records" and a "History of the Revolution," which was never published. He traveled to Red China as the official representative of the MLN-T. He was a member of the CAI [Committee for International Affairs], etc.
31. A Spanish refugee in Uruguay, he regarded "having survived the bloody civil war" as his greatest good luck. He said of himself that he was "a misunderstood writer: the communists call me a Trotskyite; the Trotskyites say I am an anarchist; the dogmatic anarchists term me an anarcho-Marxist; but I define myself by my work and my deeds." His current hero was Che Guevara, his "greatest dream would be the

unity of Latin America in order to establish a great federal republic, like the greatest mission at the beginning of the 19th century, but this will not be possible without war between the two Americas. As a strategy for revolutionary war, I believe that David can again defeat Goliath." He included the quoted work "Communism in Uruguay" among "the elements which win sympathy" for the Tupamaros. "... And the journalist Abraham Guillen (father of Tupamaro Abraham Guillen Garcia), ultraleftist anarchist, pro-Chinese, a contributor to the daily newspaper ESPOIR in Toulouse, France, author of a book called "Urban Guerrilla Warfare," and various others, are under suspicion of being the true leaders of the terrorist organization. Guillen, using the pseudonym "Arapey," works for the evening daily ACCION, belonging to Jorge Batlle, one of the leaders of the Colorado Party, whom he advises in matters of international economics" (pp 65 and 105). At the end of 1956, Guillen predicted "The Agony of Imperialism," under that title, in two volumes published in Buenos Aires (Sophos Publishing House, Buenos Aires), etc.

32. Pseudonym of Abraham Guillen.
33. Paulo Romeu Schilling Schirmer, a Brazilian communist ("Communism in Uruguay," p 61). Took refuge in Uruguay after the ousting of Joao Goulart. He worked as a journalist and contributor to MARCHA and Prensa Latina.
34. This "draft" was prepared by the Central Committee of the PCU between 28 and 30 June 1966, and was to be finally approved by the Congress of the PCU at its meeting held from 9 to 13 August 1966. A simple reading of it shows the responsibility of the PCU for the general crisis being experienced by the country, and the strength of that Central Committee, the all powerful organ of that party.
35. Name of the police department specializing in the investigation of subversive activities in that era.
36. In the usual categorical and aggressive communist propaganda style, the PCU morning paper maintained in large print that the preceding events were but a false tale concocted by the police and the "pro-fascist and pro-Yankee press" to deceive the public "with the obvious political purposes of attacking the left wing," etc.
37. "Quique," "Alejandro," "Bero," "Britos." One of the veteran members of the MLN-T, he participated in the attack on FUTU tent and the Soca operation, being one of those who attacked the commissariat. Arrested, he escaped during the "Abuso," joining the military sector of the Collar column, No 7. After recapture, he escaped again from a military unit on 24 February 1973.

38. Like the above, he was a member of the organization from its beginning, holding responsible posts and serving as a member of column 10. He was among those who escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison on 12 April 1972, going to serve in the Collar column No 7, etc.
39. Sister of Elsa Magdalena and Alberto Juan Setelich Marguitich, all members of a family of fanatical communists, she married Raul Sendic and they had two children. After her escape from the Women's Prison, she went with them to Cuba, where she now lives. Later investigations made it possible to establish that Jose Baxter Denaro, Jose Luis Nell Tacchi, Jorge Andres Cataldo, Ruben Daniel Rodriguez Primon and Patricio Errecalde Pueyrredon also lived in the premises referred to. They had all been members of the Argentine "Tacuara group," an organization originally of an extreme rightwing inclination, which suffered a schism as a result of which some of its members went over to Maoism, some of them, such as Baxter Denaro and Nell Tacchi, etc., traveling to Red China to take advance courses in guerrilla warfare, etc.
40. First alternate for the 18th Senate seat on the PCU slate for the 1962 national elections.
41. Introduction by Julio de Santa Ana, articles by Carlos Delmonte, Miguel A. Semino and A. F. Carrillo de Albornoz.
42. "El Negro," "Silva." A member of the MLN-T, he came to be a member of the executive committee of the seditious organization when "Abdon el Viejo" was arrested. He was in charge of column 15 and was the coordinator of the "Pando operation" and the "flight of the little doves," and was also the focus of one of the most celebrated incidents prior to the dissolution of the parliament, when the commission looking into the misdeeds of former Senator Erro insisted on hearing his testimony, for which purpose he was brought before a joint session in the headquarters of the IMES, on the pretext that it was necessary to question him. However, this was really done to establish that he was in fact in custody, since the MLN-T had circulated a rumor among the legislators to the effect that he was not in the country, etc.
43. Comarde of Mejias Collazo.
44. Member of the MARCHA group, previously mentioned, former PCU militant, trade union leader in the textile branch, a visitor to Red China, etc.
45. An Argentine terrorist and member of the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces], he escaped from Punta Carretas Prison during the "Abuso," and was "buried" by the MLN-T until it was possible to get him to Argentina. This was done via Paysandu, from which he was taken to

Concepcion del Uruguay. Through the CAI, the MLN-T informed the FAR that they could pick him up, etc.

46. "Joe," "El Gordo." The liaison between the MLN-T and the Argentine "Tacuara" group, he represented the MLN-T in Algeria until the end of 1967. Following the breakup of the seditious organization which occurred in December 1966, Baxter opted to go to Cuba.
47. Son of Carlos Quijano, an MLN-T member, presently in Paris.
48. The CUSTAL [Confederation of Trade Union Unity for Latin American Workers], a communist front organization under the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions], seeks to coordinate regional workers organizations as a successor to the now extinct Confederation of Latin American Workers, headed by the Mexican Vicente Lombardo Toledano.
49. This article reproduced and commented on various judgments in the discussion held some days earlier before the channel 12 television cameras during the program directed by Mario Cesar, with Senator Enrique Rodriguez, secretary of the PCU, Armando Cuervo, of the MRO [Uruguayan Revolutionary Movement], and Eduardo Galeano, editor of MARCHA, participating on the one side, with Elias Bluth, Roque Garcia Mullin and Oscar Bottinelli on the other.
50. This is the first known document of the MLN-T, as such. It was addressed to police agents Victor Tomas Bentancur and Delfino Suarez de Lima "and through you, to all members of the police, the army and the other armed forces in the country." Apart from claiming for themselves the role of "saviors" of the republic, the leaders of the seditious organization voiced the following threat: "If we must clash, you must choose your ground. If we succumb, others will take our places and sooner or later you will have to render an accounting."
51. PUNTO FINAL, in Santiago, Chile, attributed these to the MLN-T.
52. Carlos Real de Azua, Eneida Novoa, Alcibiades Paredes, Eduardo Paysee Gonzalez, Vivian Trias.
53. Pseudonym of Elina Berro.
54. Alberto Cataldi, "The Population"; Juan Pablo Terra, "Rural Uruguay"; Williman Osaba, "Agriculture"; Mario Buchelli, "Industry and Industrialization"; Luis Faroppa, "Economic Problems."
55. "Liberty for Vique, Santana and Castillo"; "Camilo Torres -- the Guerrilla Priest"; "Uruguayan Youth and the Political Concepts of Camilo Torres."

56. Name used for the first time in the Uruguayan press by Federico Fasano, "to define our oligarchy." (Federico Fasano Mertens, "The Presses Have Stopped," Montevideo, 1973, Alborada, p 123.)
57. Contributor to the daily newspaper EPOCA and ACCION and the weekly periodical DE FRENTE. A member of the MLN-T, he worked in the press sector, undertaking the administration and publication of the daily LA IDEA. The book "Communism in Uruguay" termed him a "known Maoist agent," etc.
58. Report of an alleged system for spying on the telephone communications of the embassies of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Italy.
59. This work analyzed the importance the student movement was taking on as the "spearhead" in the "continuing process of deepening of the crisis and impoverishment of the workers class..."
60. Arrested later by the police, the attackers, who proved to be Jose Maneiro and the brothers Mario and Oscar Rossi Garretano, stated that Deputy Ariel Collazo planned the attack, by means of which weapons were to be acquired for the MRO. The plunder from the robbery was left with Collazo, except for the sum of 215,730 pesos, which were distributed among the thieves. Collazo, however, denied these facts and later made an explanation to the Chamber of Representatives, claiming that the attackers had brought him into it as a result of alleged pressure and physical constraint imposed upon them by the police, etc.
61. This individual remained underground after obtaining his freedom, after the detention following his arrest on 14 October 1964.
62. Previously mentioned in Chapter VII, 4, c, No 368.
63. Mechanic and bank employee.
64. An interview with seditious activist Martinez Platero and Marenales at police headquarters by journalists representing EXTRA, in which the prisoners spoke of torture.
65. With this statement, recommended by a "Subcommission on Autonomy" made up of teachers notorious as communist militants, education was entirely distorted, supplementing the prevailing anarchy with "class assemblies," "seizures" of premises and "deunionizing," meeting with a reluctant and/or compliant attitude on the part of the pertinent authorities.
66. Medical student.

67. "Jesus." A rural teacher, he was a member of the interior column of the MLN-T. Liberated under the emergency security measures, he traveled to Chile and from there to Cuba, where he took the joint courses in guerrilla training, specializing in the study of the Cuban hideouts. After his return to Uruguay, he remained "underground" for some time in the "complex," then joining column 21, etc.
68. "Bolivar," already mentioned previously (Chapter II, 2, a, No 35).
69. "Raul" or "El Caqui." One of the founders of the MLN-T, he at first traveled frequently to Buenos Aires, where he maintained contact with Argentine terrorist organizations. He participated in the first kidnapping of Pereira Reverbel, was a member of column 15 and participated in the Paysandu operation. He was one of those who escaped during the "Abuso," etc.
70. "El Pelado," "Falucho" or "Felipe." He operated in the Pan de Azucar zone, supply sector. He worked in the "Caraguata" and participated in the attack on the FUTTI tent, the Workers Fund Bank and the Pan de Azucar Bank. He took courses in explosives in Cuba, a specialty of which the seditious movement made abundant use. On the basis of his medical knowledge, he operated on "Raul" or "El Caqui" when he was wounded, in the "Marquetalia." Along with "Andres," "Paco" and "Octavio," he was in charge of giving the lethal injection to peon Pascasio Ramon Baez, etc.
71. Concerning this notorious episode, see the statement by Floreal Bentancourt published in MENSAJE, the organ of the Uruguayan Democratic Union, May 1971, in which, with as much vehemence as courage, he condemned the court judgment as unjust and provocative, which he regarded as a "consequence of the fear and blindness created by that same terror which has not only invaded the citizenry, but has reached the very levels of the courts."
72. "La Tronquita," sister of "La Parda" and sister in law of "Javier." She was in charge of an action group and a military sector on the subcommand level, and the comrade, successively, of "Raul" or "El Caqui" and "Marcos."
73. The seditious activists' communique specifically named the following persons: Carlos Frick Davies, Jorge Batlle, Venancio Flores, Ulises Pereira Reverbel, Isidoro Vejo Rodriguez, Pintos Risso, Santiago Ham, Dante Chiarino, Damboriarena, Salvador Garcia Pintos, E. Algorta Scremini, Perez Noble, D. V. Albornoz, Jose Aldao, Carlos Voulminot, Jose Manticor, Luis Artagaveytia Pineiro, Julio Ambrois, Francisco Ferreira and Arturo Ham.
74. "Monica," "Luciana." Released on 24 April 1969, she then went underground. She was killed in an armed clash between a seditious group and the Carabineers' Forces on 24 April 1972 in Dolores.

75. See Chapter VII, 7, "Characteristics of Recruiting," in which matters pertaining to the confinement of seditious activists in ordinary prison establishments are dealt with.
76. This was a "survey" made by a journalist in a rural zone near the city of Maldonado, involving an innkeeper, two roadworkers, a tractor driver, a student, three office workers, a tradesman, a housewife, a teacher, a mason, a hairdresser, an electrician and three senior citizens.
77. A refugee in Chile, he later died as a result of a traffic accident.
78. Decree No 304/969.
79. "La Rubia Valentina," "La Flaca."
80. This article gives the background for the shutdown of the daily newspaper EXTRA, the establishment of the emergency security measures, the order to fire without warning, the prohibition on reporting news concerning several criminal groups, the militarization of the police, the shutdown of the daily newspapers DEMOCRACIA and IZQUIERDA, and an article by Maria Esther Gilio, "Being a Rebel Is Not Enough -- Interview with a Tupamaro."
81. The Brazilian periodical VEJA, reporting this operation, cited police sources according to which Raul Sendic had had the premises abandoned a short time before the search was made.
82. This document referred to the termination "of the stage of construction of the minimal organizational apparatus, the immediate strategic goal until today," and the beginning of "the stage of total and systematic confrontation, the immediate goal of which will be to win the support of the vast masses in a process of prolonged war... The movement is undertaking the struggle against the repressive apparatus, distinguishing and trying to make more acute the contradictions operating within it; seeking for example to differentiate within the army those antagonistic sectors which currently coexist because there is a lack of alternatives forcing them to define themselves. The organization believes that the conditions now exist for undertaking a systematic struggle against the police," etc.
83. This bulletin referred to the kidnapping of Pellegrini Giampietro and the conflict existing among the banking workers, stating that that individual "will continue to remain a prisoner of the MLN-T until in our view he has paid for a minimal portion of the blame which falls to his class."
84. This dealt with the 15 September statement by the priests of the Departments of Artigas, Salto, Paysandu and Rio Negro, supporting the statement of the same date by the CEU [Uruguayan Bishops Council]

on the situation in the country, demanding "bold and courageous changes in many of our juridical, economic, educational and political structures (Populorum Progressio No 81), in order to achieve the necessary transition from less human to more human conditions of life for each and every one" (Medellin, Introductory Document, No 6), etc. This statement was signed by priests Armand Aguerre, Luis Belando, Carlos Maria Bernardi, Jean Paul Bidegain, Jose Carabelos, Omar Cornalino, Jose V. Couto, Weiler P. Chiavone, Manuel Dibar, Fermin Gamberini, Ruben A. Irureta, Luis Mazzarino, Enrique Pertusatti, Francisco Romero, Jose M. Zanetti, Juan Zordara, Jose Luis Sanchis and Hector Traversa.

85. The flier, dated "8 October 1969, Pando. For the MLN, Che Guevara Command," was reprinted in the January 1970 issue of the Cuban periodical TRICONTINENTAL, under the title "Tupamaros -- a Sermon of Uprising and Resistance."
86. He escaped during the "Abuso," and on 13 February 1972 participated in the attack on the Soca commissariat, then disappearing until his arrest on 1 April 1974 by the Swedish authorities for passing counterfeit dollars.
87. "Aniceto." A Protestant pastor in Constitucion, Salto. He was tried and escaped during the "Abuso," joining an action group of column 23. He always worked in the interior. Arrested on 20 October 1971, he escaped again on 12 April 1972, and was rearrested on 3 July of that same year in Barrancas de Mauricio, Department of San Jose, etc.
88. "Beatriz," "Bony." A member of an action group in column 15, she was an instructor in cadre training, also serving in column 23, Salto zone, military sector, in charge of a group and the coordinating section. She escaped from the Women's Prison during the "flight of the little doves." The comrade of "Carlos," she participated in the actions in Paysandu, etc.
89. "La Flaca Cora." A member of the column 1 command, she was expelled from the organization for "ambition" and matters of a "moral" nature. She escaped from the Women's Prison on 8 March 1970, was rearrested on 19 October 1971, etc.
90. The minor in question was detained for several days, then being released to some uncles domiciled in the Department of Tacuarembó, with whom he subsequently lived.
91. "El Prepo." He escaped during the "Abuso," and served in column 20-north, with "Ruffo," during the encampment in the Quequay woods, in the sector near Route 3. He participated in the actions in Paysandu, and then went to Salto, where he was a part of the "Leandro" group. Finally, along with the latter, he was arrested on 10 June 1972.

92. "Tito," "Gregor," "Tulio." An expert in counterfeiting documents, he was one of the first to work in this branch within the organization. He was a part of the coordinating commission in charge of services in Paysandu, where he engaged in building hideouts. He underwent a nose reduction operation, and then joined the seditious group operating in the mountains along with "Raul" or "El Caqui," etc.
93. "Hugo," "Zoilo," "Mauricio," "El Gordo." He served in the military sector in Maldonado, east zone. He escaped during the "Abuso," but was rearrested on 3 March 1972 in Minas. He also took part in the takeover of Radio Lavalleja and in the attack on the Aigua branch of the Pan de Azucar Bank, etc.
94. "Marta" or "Maria."
95. "Manuel." A member of column 23, Salto zone, military sector, mountain group, in guerrilla action. He took part in the "Pando operation" as group leader, and escaped during "Abuso."
96. This book contains a draft state security law submitted to the parliament on 7 April 1970 with a view to combating sedition "with adequate juridical means," according to the explanatory justification.
97. He was summoned to join the group which made a survey of the Captain Boiso Lanza Air Base.
98. Pseudonym of Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo.
99. "Micaela." Having escaped from the Women's Prison, she was again arrested on 4 July 1972 during a clash with the Carabineers' Forces in the site in the Department of San Jose known as Barrancas de Mauricio.
100. "Jose." A member of a mountain or Tatu group in column 26, he later served with column 27. On 14 May 1971 he went to Chile, and from there to Cuba. After he returned to the country, he remained "buried" for a time in "La Estrella," the seditious activists' hideout on Constitucion Street, and was arrested on 28 February 1972 in Estacion Progreso, etc.
101. MARCHA.
102. The author stresses the fact that the Tupamaros, like other similar groups in Latin America, were practically all members of what the Marxists called the "bourgeoisie" and the "oligarchy," and not the impoverished classes which they seek to defend and whose problems, in reality, they do not know firsthand, and that among their members there are sons of hacienda owners and heavy "capitalists," as is also the case with the Latin America orthodox communists, and that many are sons of men who at the end of the 1930's and beginning of the 40's were members of Uruguayan organizations which supported Berlin and Rome. This, he says, in the sense that "the extremes

meet," gives rise to interesting Freudian speculations and common-sense deductions: "The sons obviously felt obligated to 'expiate the sins of the fathers,' taking what they considered the opposite path -- the extreme left instead of the extreme right... The activities of the fathers (in the past) and the sons (today) are rather similar, despite the fact that the motivation by means of which they rationalize them appear to be at least superficially rather different and even opposite."

103. Referring to the murder of agent Alfredo Pallas.
104. Referring to the reestablishment of the security measures.
105. This escape was called "Paloma" [Dove] or "Vuelo de las Palomitas" [Flight of the Little Doves] by the seditious organization.
106. "Nora."
107. "Claudia," wife of Raul Bidegain Greissing.
108. "La Gorda," the wife of Jorge Pedro Zabalza Waksman and sister in law of Ricardo, killed in the Pando incident. After her escape, she participated in the "Collar" operation, and was again arrested in Paysandu.
109. "La Parda," wife of "Javier" and sister of "La Tronquita." A veteran member of the MLN-T, she held various responsible posts in columns 15 and 10. She was expelled at the end of 1970 for "lack of discipline," forming a separate organization with other dissidents which they called the FER-71 [Revolutionary Student Front 1971] and which then came to be called the FRT. Finally, she asked the MLN-T to reconsider her case, demanding that she be helped to leave the country for Cuba, etc.
110. "Facundo," a member of the MLN-T since the early days and with a certain military experience, he was a member of column 10 and carried out other responsible tasks. After his escape on 12 April 1972, he joined the command of column 7-Collar, being recaptured on 19 October 1971, etc.
111. Manual drafted by the CNT [National Convention of Workers], with "a political goal," based on "the most important concepts formulated by Marxist theory in the realms of economics, politics and ideology."
112. Commentary on supposed police procedures with regard to seditious activist Rodabel Cabrera Britos.
113. Brother of Tabare Euclides.
114. Commentary on presumed police procedures with regard to seditious activists Juan Antonio Ciola, Leonel Raul Martinez Platero and Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobro.

115. Commentary on presumed political procedures pertaining to seditious activists Jesus David Melian ("El Flaco," comrade of "Charito," wife of "El Negro Eliseo," member of column 20-North in the city of Tacuarembó, etc.) and Arapey Cabrera.
116. "Julian," "Jose," "Urrutia," "Juancito." A member of the UJC [Union of Communist Youth], he acted as chief of the north column and carried out other responsible assignments within the MLN-T. He carried cane cutters in his own truck during the first march; he provided cover for premises where he lived along with "Ruffo"; he participated in the action against the Mailhos firm; and when arrested, he worked intensively along with "El Negro Eliseo" on the recruiting of prisoners, etc.
117. Commentary on presumed police procedures with regard to seditious activist Enrique Osano.
118. "La Gorda," "Sandra" or "Martha." A sister of seditious activist Yamandu Jose Rodriguez, she was arrested on 8 October 1969 in Pando. She was a member of the action group known as "Los Mexicanos," subcolumn B of column 15, which perpetrated numerous actions, among others the attack on the National Fund, the kidnapping of Pereira Reverbel and Berro Oribe, the attempt to kidnap Deambrosis, an attack on a GM officer, etc.
119. PUNTO FINAL, in Santiago, Chile, published the seditious group's report of this action on 21 July 1970.
120. "Aurelio" served as Fly's guard during his kidnapping, and later joined column 20-north. After the attack on the branch of the BROU [Bank of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay?] in Tacuarembó, he helped to bury the booty, then going to Paysandu and asking the organization to get him out of the country, as he suffered from heart disease, finally returning to Montevideo, etc. The August 1970 issue of PENSAMIENTO CRITICO in Havana published the letter Garin wrote "to my comrades and people," in which he attempted in grandiloquent terms to explain his infamous behavior.
121. The seditious organization's report of the kidnap was published in PUNTO FINAL, in Santiago, Chile, on 21 July 1970, as has already been mentioned.
122. The "letter" quoted in No 986, and the article in PUNTO FINAL, Santiago, 7 July 1970 referred to this event and those which occurred on the 9th and 10th of June (see date above, No 150/1183).
123. A printer, member of the PS [Socialist Party] and known to be one of the founders of the MLN-T. The police believed him to be a participant in the attack perpetrated on the San Rafael Casino on 29 November 1968, the kidnapping of Pereira Reverbel (7 August 1968) and Pellegrini Giampietro (9 September 1969), the Pando operation (8 October 1969), the attacks on the Mailhos estate (5 April 1970), and the Naval Training Center (the preceding 29 May).

124. "Antonio," "Eugenio," "El Pandorga." An operator for Channel 5 TV, SODRE [Official Radio Electric Broadcasting Service]. A member of the MLN-T, he was active in the command of column 45-72, escaped from prison during the "Abuso," etc. When he was arrested in this hideout, the police seized from him a large volume of organization materials.
125. "El Gordo Paulo." An MLN-T member, he participated in an action group in column 15. After the "Abuso," he was sent to column 30-south, working in Juan Lacaze, Department of Colonia, in the coordinating body. Later he spent some time in Buenos Aires, from which he returned complaining that "there is no action there," etc.
126. MLN-T, "Operation Disarmament."
127. This book is a collection of the articles published in MARCHA and EL POPULAR between December 1969 and February 1973, in connection with the polemic argument between the author and R. Mario Acosta, Cesar Reyes Daglio and Wladimir Turianski on these subjects: general strike, structural changes, combat capacity of the trade union movement and its use. In summary, the thesis of the author is that the potential capacity of the trade union movement should be used to the full, as opposed to the idea, impressed upon the trade union membership for years, to the effect that general strike is a kind of brink of disaster, a false idea, he says, against which the Uruguayan workers reacted in June and July of 1963, etc.
128. Written by a seditious activist sentenced to the Punta Carretas Prison, it deals with the exchange of the arrested MLN-T members for the kidnap victims.
129. "El Flaco," "Coca Cola," "Ramirez," "Daniel," "Ruperto," "Santana," "Flaco Martinez," "Loco Coca Cola." One of the founders of the MLN-T, he was a member of the executive group. He participated in numerous actions: the kidnapping of Pellegrini Giampietro, the assassination of agent Viera Piazza, Commercial Bank guard Techera Bobadilla, and Inspector Moran Charquero, the robberies of the Commercial and Collection Banks, the Ferretjans establishment, and the Pasteur Hospital remittance clerks, and the attack on the Naval Training Center, etc. He escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison on 17 July 1971 and is currently a member of the MLN-T executive board in exile.
130. A member of the seditious organization since the beginning, he performed various responsible tasks. A member of the executive board during the Pando operation, he did not take part in it because of an injured foot. In prison he was a part of the MLN-T leadership group. After the "Abuso," he went to serve in the command of column 7-Collar. He was recaptured on 19 October 1971, etc.

131. "Clemente," comrade of "Teresa." After the "Abuso," he participated in the expanded general command meeting in the interior and of the executive group, during which he was entrusted with the responsibility for column 21, etc.
132. "Sofia," "Julia." Member of column 7, service sector.
133. "Mercedes," "La Flaca," "La Negra," "Renee." The comrade of "Silva," she participated in the "flight of the little doves," was a member of the command of column 15 in the political sector, lived in the premises on Morelli Street, where there was a hideout, injured a leg in an accident and was left lame, etc.
134. The property in question, located on Almeria Street, served as a meetings and operations base for the leadership group of the MLN-T. For this reason this episode was known as the "Almeria" or "Almeria leadership" operation among the seditious activists, since with this seizure, the movement was deprived of its main leadership.
135. Luis Eduardo Pioli Perez, alias "Pepe." A member of the MLN-T, he was a member of the interior command, spending a long time in the "Complex."
136. "Susana," "Chela," "La Petisa," "Chola." Among the first "long hairs" recruited by the movement, she was active in the military sector of column 27, "Tatu" or mountain group. After her escape during "La Estrella," she remained underground for some time in the hideout at the pharmacy located at Maldonado and Ibicuy. Assigned to Paso de los Toros, she was in charge of the coordinating group. The comrade of "Fermin," she remained in his parents' home, where there was a hideout, when he was arrested. From there she went to Durazno, where she was arrested on 11 May 1972, etc.
137. A normal school student and mason, he was one of the participants in the assassination of Inspector Moran Charquero.
138. Widow of the seditious activist killed in the Pando operation, she escaped from the Women's Prison on 30 July 1971. A secondary school teacher and professor history, she was a member of the interior column of the seditious organization, in which she was known by the alias "Elisa." She was an intimate and confidant of "Ruffo," and also worked in the column 7-Collar information service, etc.
139. An employee of an advertising enterprise, known in the organization by the pseudonym "Perla," she escaped from the Women's Prison, but was again arrested in the "people's prison," etc.
140. See Chapters II and XV, Nos 35 and 645, respectively.

141. See Chapter V, 4, b, 7), Jewish-Christian Brotherhood, No 259.
142. Ibid.
143. See Chapter XV, No 645.
144. "Bolita," "Guzman." A journalist with BP COLOR and EXTRA. A member of the MLN-T, she served in column 40, special groups, and the so-called "second executive board." Arrested under the emergency security measures system, she chose to leave the country, traveling to Chile and then returning secretly. She participated in the attack on the Agua branch of the Pan de Azucar Bank and in the assassination of Prof Armando Acosta y Lara, former under secretary of the interior, on 14 April 1972, etc.
145. In MLN-T communique No 12, dated 21 September 1970, No 4, the seditious organization said that the transfer of Sendic was due to the fact that he was the bearer of an exchange proposal, on which specific details were defined and which was accepted by the government, but which could not be formulated "because those arrested could not consult the comrades in the MLN-T leadership."
146. See Chapter II, No 35.
147. The report of this conversation was published by the Cuban daily newspaper GRANMA in its 13 September 1970 issue, and the text of the recording was used later by the Swede Lindquist in the film "Tupamaros" (see Chapter II, 2, b, No 38).
148. See Chapter VII, 7, No 401, in particular.
149. "Romulo," "Gregorio," "Fermin," "Roque." An MLN-T member, he was active in column 7, having direct knowledge of the seditious premises known as "El Charquito," "El Pinar," "El Zorro" or "El Tala," "El Kinoto de Florencio," "La Fortuna" and "La Puiga," etc.
150. See Chapter II, No 71.
151. "Sofia," "Julia." She was active in column 7, service sector. She participated in the Soca operation and escaped from the Women's Prison.
152. "Estela." Freed and again arrested pursuant to the emergency security measures, she chose to leave the country, traveling to Chile.
153. "Pancho," "El Negro." A member of the MLN-T, he was active in column 23 and others in the Salto zone, being in charge of the military sector. He participated in a frustrated attack on the Colonia branch of the BROU. He replaced "Bony" in Salto when the

latter was arrested, and participated in many other actions. He escaped during the "Abuso," but was arrested again on 11 February 1972 in Salto, etc.

154. "Polo." He escaped on the same occasion as the preceding individual, but was again arrested in the "people's prison" where he served as a guard.
155. The communique referred to was published in the Cuban daily newspaper GRANMA the following day, 18 September, and the text of the manifesto was published 10 days later, on 27 September, by that same Cuban daily. It was read on 6 October in the parliament by two legislators involved with the seditious movement.
156. In this newspaper interview, deputy Ariel Collazo, cofounder of the MRO [Uruguayan Revolutionary Movement], set forth specifications concerning the establishment of a popular front in Uruguay, which in his view should be differentiated from a National Liberation Front, and should "include first of all those revolutionary organizations which had been the main protagonists of the struggles of the recent years and while the struggle and unity developed, to increase participation in all forms of struggle, and also to keep pace with and advance our process along with the struggles of the other peoples who in Bolivia and Brazil have reached the higher form of rural guerrilla warfare."
157. Reference to the visit paid to the seditious leaders in prison the preceding 16 June by the minister of education and culture, C. Fleitas.
158. The text of this communique and the letter from Dias Gomide to his wife were published by the daily newspaper EL DIA, in Mexico City, under the headline "Communique No 12 of the Tupamaros. The Tupamaros reiterate their proposal for Fly's release and complain of the provocations against the prisoners."
159. "Diocles," a medical student.
160. "Pablo," a preparatory student.
161. This is a reference to the confirmation of Salvador Allende by the Chilean Congress, by a vote of 153 to 35.
162. "Wato," "Pedro," "El Tapichi," A member of the military sector of the MLN-T, he was active in column 30-south. He was formerly a militant in Zelmar Michelini's political sector in Florida. He escaped from the prison during the "Abuso." He built a hideout in Santa Lucia, near Mala Island, and after the reorganization of the movement, he was appointed to the command of column 27 as the military leader, etc.

163. "Clara," "Teresa." A member of the command of column 30-south and column 7-Collar, she was the comrade of "Clemente," left with him, etc.
164. Interview with the successor to Carlos Marighella, Joaquin "Toledo" Camara Ferreira.
165. "Leonardo" or "Alfredo." A veteran member of the MLN-T, he took advantage of the constitutional option to go to Chile. He returned secretly to the country, and was assigned to column 10 as military chief. Along with "Renee," he was one of the engineers of the 12 April 1972 escape, etc.
166. A student union leader, he traveled to Cuba, and was a member of column 70 of the MLN-T.
167. A collection of interviews with leaders of the FAL [Argentine Liberation Front], FAP [Peronist Armed Forces], FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] and the Montoneros [Guerrilla fighters, or bushwhackers].
168. Presumably printed in December 1971, this work refers to the following members of the organization: Eduardo Pinella (founder of the MAC), Mario Robaina (a worker in the La Teja quarter), Edelmar Ribeiro ("Negro Veio," a harvest worker on the sugar plantations in the north), Rafael Sarachaga (chemist, teaching assistant at the Faculty in this branch), Jorge Salerno (student leader in the Faculty of Agronomy), Ricardo Zabalza (son of former Senator Pedro Zabalza), Alfredo Emilio Cultelli (son of a PS councillor), Indalecio Olivera (parish priest in Reducto and Las Acacias), Hernan Pucurull (the "little Che Guevara"), Carlos Andres Lopez (student leader at the IAVA [Alfredo Vasquez Acevedo Institute], killed in the blowing up of the Bowling Club), Roberto Ron (militant union leader of the Medical Students Association, killed in the same incident as the preceding individual) and Juan Carlos Larrosa ("The Viet Cong," so-called because of his facial features, an UTU [Labor University of Uruguay] student and shoemaker by profession).
169. The reference is to the interviews conducted by a journalist from the British Broadcasting Corporation in London with a leader of the MLN-T, the minister of the interior, Dr Santiago de Brum Carbajal, the director of penal institutions, Col Jose Fortunato, and the Montevideo chief of police, Col Jaime H. Planell.
170. So that he could examine Fly, who had suffered a cardiac infarct.
171. The head of the SIPI, she organized all the MLN-T intelligence centers, escaped from the Women's Prison, etc.
172. Pseudonym of Ernesto Gonzalez Bermejo.

173. The MLN-T and the seditious activists who in one way or another managed for the most part to end up in the ordinary civil courts, taking advantage of the guarantees and formalities of the "bourgeois regime," waged an intensive battle in every sector against any change in this legal "status," since it practically guaranteed them impunity for their crimes. The very fact of the assumption of jurisdiction for these crimes by the military court would destroy this impunity, as in fact did occur when the state of civil war was declared in April 1972. This was the reason for the persistent campaign by the seditious activists and their supporters to insist on their consideration as "political criminals" at all costs, and for the kidnapping of the attorney general so as "to judge him" and to exert pressure on him for the stating of an opinion on these aspects of a technical nature.
174. "Tono." He carried out command tasks in the military sector of the interior column. He remained "underground" for a long time in the hideout on Larranaga Avenue, adjacent to the IMPASA mutual association sanatorium. He escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison during the "Abuso," etc.
175. "Blanca Galarza," "La Negrita," "Alba," "Teresa." She was a member of the military sector of column 26, Tatu or mountain group, and interior column 24. After her escape from the Women's Prison during "La Estrella," she served with column 30-south with "Ruperto," who was her comrade. She participated in the attack on Lieutenant Criado, the seizure of the Minas Radio and was a member of the group in the action at the Argentino Hotel in Piriapolis, etc.
176. "Ramon."
177. "Federico." He served as chief of column 30-south and was a member of the secretariat of the MLN-T.
178. This was the term which came to be applied to a delicate and never clarified episode involving the regrettable announcement of a government decision to devalue the currency, said to have allowed certain persons to line their pockets illegally because of exchange differential.
179. "Sara," who escaped from the Women's Prison with other seditious activists on 8 March of the preceding year.
180. "La Flaca."
181. She escaped from the Women's Prison and was arrested again at the seditious hideout in Apartment 501, No 1420 Arenal Grande Street, etc.

182. In this report, a "Prensa Latina exclusive," the source states that "the interviewer sent the interview direct to the Central Prensa Latina agency in Havana, along with granting it exclusive distribution rights." In fact, the author of the interview was a Prensa Latina employee.
183. This was a letter in which he maintained it was untrue that due to a decision by him, mass would not be said in the Cathedral for any kidnap victim. "On the contrary, I myself celebrated one such mass, much publicized, for assassination victim Dan Mitrione." But he admitted it was true that there was resistance "to any pressure on the church, in connection with the kidnappings, to take part in the political struggle underlying all of this," etc.
184. In this letter the seditious organization threatened the legislators, warning them that they would be held responsible and would be subject to sanctions if they acted in this or that direction with regard to certain measures undertaken by the executive branch, including the establishment of neighborhood registries.
185. In this letter dated 22 March, the Archbishop of Montevideo made an attempt to compare the crimes and delinquencies of the seditious movement with the measures adopted by the authorities to preserve institutions and society.
186. "El Gordo Machado." A counterfeiter serving a sentence at the Punta Carretas Prison, he escaped during the "Abuso" and collaborated, using his "specialty" with the MLN-T. In March of 1972 he went to the Rio Negro mountains with Sendic, joining the action group of column 25, etc.
187. Paraphrasing the "long" or "great" Yenan march. See above, No 116.
188. An inspection of the premises revealed evidence that the kidnapped Brazilian consul Dias Gomide was held here.
189. See Chapter XIII, "Report on the Hunger Command," Nos 626 et seq.
190. The murdered man participated in the events of the preceding 30 March, giving warning of the attack to which the firm referred to was subjected.
191. "Nepo," "Lopez," "Lopecito," "Prieto," "El Negro," "Victor." An MLN-T member, he had discussions with Sendic when they were both sentenced to the Punta Carretas Prison. The guard resented him, charging that his comrade suffered from "actionism" (action by the groups for their own sake). When Fidel Castro went to Chile, he went to interview him to complete arrangements for the dispatch of weapons and money the Cubans had promised the MLN-T, but which had not been arranged. "Nepo" made the trip via Paraguay, in a twin engine

plane belonging to the MLN-T, piloted by "Romulo," the alias of Ruben Omar Rivero Abascal, Joao Goulart's pilot, who was affiliated with the seditious organization.

192. This operation, which resulted in a number of searches and other procedures, with the seizure of large numbers of MLN-T documents, explosive materials and money, culminated in the trial of all those arrested.
193. "Jacinto." He was the "inside man" who made the robbery possible.
194. The various inquiries and investigations pursued by the police in order to locate Ayala were unsuccessful. On 26 July his stepfather, police agent Maximo de Barros de Barros, reported Ayala's disappearance to the 12th section commissariat. Later several daily newspapers suggested that Ayala, compromised by presumed links with the seditious activists, might have gone underground: LA IDEA, on the other hand, attributed this disappearance to the activities of a presumed "Tupamaro pursuit command."
195. In the documents of the seditious organization, this escape is referred to as "La Estrella" [The Star]. The seditious activists provided an extremely detailed account of the escape, from their viewpoint and for propaganda purposes, in the book "Tupamaro Records No 2, Three Tupamaro Escapes," Santiago, Chile, 1973, Latin American Press, S.A., reissued in Argentina at the end of that year by the Baires Distributing Co., S.R.L.
196. "Carlos," "El Gallego." A former medical student, he joined the student group "Los Bravos." As a member of the MLN-T, he served in the military sector in the commands of column 15 and 7-Collar. He was a comrade of "Bony" and participated in a number of actions, among others the attacks on the Domingo Basso firm and Channel 10 TV, the kidnapping of Ambassador Jackson, the robbery at the Tacuarembó branch of the BROU, etc.
197. This work attributes the deaths of Manuel Ramos Filippini and Heber Milton Nieto Santos to the police, and promised that the repressive forces and the oligarchy would be answered "bullet for bullet, death for death."
198. Brother of "Micaela" and "Monica" or "Luciana," both members of the MLN-T. He was arrested because of this affiliation with this organization on 10 October 1969, and the inquiries with the authorities launched by his parents to establish his whereabouts because he was a minor, according to the daily newspaper quoted, were fruitless. This report was revived on 15 April 1972 by the seditious organization, which then attributed the "disappearance" of Hector Castagneto to a supposed "death squadron," etc.

199. The FA [Broad Front] publicized the measures approved by its executive board and the plenary session of groups comprising it, which it "would implement on assuming government power," in accordance with "the basic criteria guiding its policy, origins and reasons for being."
200. This escape was called operation "Abuso" [Abuse] by the seditious activists, and those who fled in the course of the operation were: Luis Alberto Machado Morales, Ruben Hector Bentancour Sanchez, Jesus Maria Arguinarena Biurrun, Nicola Antonio Estevez Fernandez, Antonio Bandera Lima, Carlos Echedo Acosta, Manuel Marx Menendez Olivera, Laureano Juan Riera Galeano, Idilio de Leon Bermudez, Hector Alfredo Romero, Mario Roger Julien Caceres, Walter David Philips Tresy Aby Saab, Arapey Cabrera Sureda, Jose Felix Nieto Gnazzo, Angel Yoldi Arciet, Oscar Puig Insaurrealde, Eduardo Omar Cavia Luzardo, Augusto Maffei Morlan, Mario Cesar Rossi Garretano, Enrique Omar Osano Laroosa, Jose Martiniano Zapata Acuna, Alberto Cia del Campo, Ataliva Castillo Lima, Alejandro Hector Buscarons Morelli, Jose Lopez Mercado, Pedro Manuel Eismendi Cabrera, Ruben Garcia Bianchimano, Herman Lorenzo Gonzalez Yosi, Ricardo Dante Melo, Eduardo Luis Leon Dutra, Dayman Osvaldo Cabrera Sureda, Alberto Cassioli Aguilera, Oscar Octavio Delgado Gonzalez, Miguel Angel Coitino Arigon, Carlos Humberto Martell Delgado, Gabino Falero Montes de Oca, Eraclio Rodriguez Recalde, Vladimir Sawchuk Swed, Alvear Victoriano Leal Darrosa, Arturo Pedro Dubra Diaz, Marcos Suarez Piriz, Juan Jose Dominguez Diaz, Carlos Alberto Varela Ramirez, Raul Sendic Antonaccio, Yamandu Rodriguez Olariaga, Edgard Eduardo Tiscornia Russo, Julio Marenales Saenz, Horacio Mario Ramos Bentancour, Conrado Fernandez Cabeles, Anibal R. Rondeau Barreto, Jose Ignacio Vita Hernandez, Leonel Martinez Platero, Jose Manuel Solsona Acosta, Jose Pedro Lopardo Telechea, Julio Cesar Listre Cardenas, Hector Clavijo Quirque, Juan Ciola Paredes, Jose Alberto Iglesias Pacheco, Sergio Emidgio Da Rosa Silveira, Anibal de Lucia Grajales, Nestor Peralta Larrosa, Jose Perez Lutz, Luis Dubra Amarelle, Julio Jose Faravelli Cuezso, Alberto Antonio Cocco Perez, Alberto Aiello Astarita, Carlos Rodriguez Garcia, Augusto Sanz Fernandez, Nelson Leonardo Larraud Sales, Jose Luis Nell Tacchi, Juan Diego Picardo Estevez, Emilio Exequiel Martinez, Cesar Gerardo Long Damboriano, Carlos Eugenio Furtado Topolansky, Juan Carlos Medina Condin, Tabare Rivero Cedres, Luis Eduardo Pioli Perez, Walter Gonzalez Diaz, Juan Carlos Rodriguez, Alfredo Mario Rivero Cedres, David Alberto Campora Schweizer, Jorge Amilcar Manera Lluberas, Servando Arvelo Gatti, Juan Jose Nouched Sosa, Alberto Candan Grajales, Elbio Anibal Cardozo Rodriguez, Luis Efrain Martinez Platero, Luis Barrios Machado, Jose Mujica Cordano, Roque Stalin Lezcano Amado, Gonzalo Romero Bassanta, Jorge Washington Leivas Puig, Jesus David Melian, Servando Staino Puntonet, Daniel Camilo Guinovart Tonelli, Ismael Bassini Campiglia, Augusto Teodoro Gregori Souto, Eduardo Agustin Ariosa Amilivia, Adolfo Wassen Alaniz, Hector Amodio Perez, Eleuterio Fernandez Huidobro, Carlos Rodriguez

Ducos, Jorge Pedro Zabalza Waksman, Eduardo H. Juambelts Rodriguez, Asdrubal Pereira Cabrera, and Armando Hugo Blanco. Along with these 106 seditious activists, five common criminals also escaped: Oscar Hector Bernatti Vener, Roberto Henay Bernatti Vener, Carlos La Paz Caballero, Arion Zalazar and Carlos Ruben Palomeque Dorés. The first four had been tried and the last mentioned sentenced.

A description of this escape, in the stages of preparation, execution, tools and methods used, collaboration of the ordinary prisoners or "gambusas," etc., was provided by the seditious organization in the book already mentioned entitled "Tupamaro Records No 2, Three Tupamaro Escapes." As was indicated therein, "the relations with the 'gambusas' provided one of the pillars on which the 'Abuso' depended. Without this, it would have been very difficult, or perhaps the escape planned would have remained on paper" (p 83 of the Argentine edition).

201. This action, prepared like the escape well in advance and carried out in coordination with the escape in order to divert FFCC troops while it was occurring, was the action the seditious document called the "La Teja mutiny" or "Tero," after the bird which typically "emits a cry, on the one hand, while laying eggs, on the other."
202. Decree No 566/971. See Vol II, Chapter I, 2, Numbers 689 et seq.
203. Ibid, Chapter I, 3, Nos 693 et seq.
204. As clarified by a qualified panegyrist of the "new church," this seemingly neutral paragraph was the means found by the Uruguay ecclesiastical hierarchy to launch "a rightist campaign, to obtain from the bishops conference what could not be obtained from the hierarchy of the Archdiocese of Montevideo -- condemnation of the very considerable participation of the Catholics in the Broad Front" (Hector Borrat, "From the Proclamation to the Program," CUADERNOS DE MARCHA, No 52, p 4).
205. A small flier printed on both sides referring to the Pando operation, asserting the existence of a "new regime," in opposition to "the regime of the oligarchy," in the "first great battle" waged by the seditious organization, etc.
206. Local police and Montevideo police headquarters personnel acting together later succeeded in arresting eight of the seditious activists participating in this incident. They were tried by the courts.
207. Wife of the film director Costa-Gavras and friend of Maria Esther Gilio, in whose house she lived. This was a "kidnapping" agreed upon for the purpose of getting seditious materials and information out of the country for the film "State of Siege," which her husband subsequently made in Chile.

208. Decree No 672/971.
209. This proclamation announced the end of the truce unilaterally established by the organization to make the development of the election process possible, and reviewed various actions carried out in that period.
210. Fifteen of these persons were tried, the other two being minors.
211. "Octavio." He was a member of the command of column 15 and the executive group at the beginning of 1971. He was in charge of columns 30-south and 7-Collar, and then the general command in March of 1972, along with "Leonel," with responsibility for the interior. He attended meetings with Seregni and FA leaders, participated in the assassinations of Mitrioni (he provided the weapons for the committing of the crime), Moran Charquero and Arteché (an MLN-T member), was involved in the Punta Carretas and Women's Prison escapes, and was responsible for providing a "solution" for the problem of the peon Pascasio Ramon Baez, etc.
212. "Eduardo." He served as coordinator for column 20/30 in this zone, being in charge of the service sector, with responsibility for political matters, the CAT [Committee for Aid to the Tupamaros], propaganda, etc.
213. "Fermin." He belonged to the coordinating group, serving in columns 20/30, service sector, security group and infrastructure. He was an expert in the building of underground hideouts of wood, the comrade of "Susana," etc.
214. One of the many examples of inconsistency in the judicial branch, on which, in various ways, the seditious organizations exerted an influence, as numerous episodes demonstrate. In this case the formal basis was the separation of powers, as if the activities of penal magistrates elsewhere than in their own offices under such unusual circumstances were likely to affect their independence.
215. Wife of seditious activist Alberto Salvador Bonessi, alias "Pablo," she served in column 23, service sector, intelligence group, cover.
216. This was a special commentary reproducing the report written by a Prensa Latina journalist about two MLN-T members in Montevideo, in which they gave their opinions about the elections of the preceding November, the cessation of the "truce," seditious activities in 1970 and 1971, the confrontation with the army, the "death squadron," "revolutionary justice," the "people's prison," the kidnappings, the stages of the revolution, the escapes from the prisons, the establishment of a "double regime," etc.

217. This escape was known as operation "Gallo" [Rooster], and unlike the "Abuso," which was engineered from inside, this was managed from the outside, as was explained. The planning and execution were explained in detail by the MLN-T in the book "Tupamaro Record No 2," previously cited, pp 153 et seq. The seditious activists who escaped were: Hector Amodio Perez, Jose Antonio Calvino Garcia, Elbio Anibal Cardozo Rodriguez, Sergio Emidgio Da Rosa Silvera, Cesar Long Damboriano, Jose Pedro Lopardo Telechea, Luis Efrain Martinez Platero, Antonio Mas Mas, Jose Alberto Mujica Cardozo, Hector Pascual Quartiani Fernandez, Yamandu Rodriguez Olariaga, Tabare Euclides Rivero Cedres, Marcos Segundo Soarez Piriz, Angel Maria Yoldi Arciet and Jorge Pedro Zabalza Waksman, along with common criminals Waldelino Sosa Tajes, Adalberto Ovidio Vina Ruiz, Carmelo Virgilio Coitino Trujillo, Raul Cesar Rosa Perez, Edison Marin, Nestor Alejandro Piriz Lareo, Hector Guido Vargas, Oscar Acevedo Olivera, Enrique Gomez Blanco and Florentino Milo.
218. A member of the so-called "G" commission which worked within the prison on winning over ordinary prisoners.
219. "Joaquin," the liaison agent "who centralized all the information between the internal and external commands" for the massive escape from the Punta Carretas Prison on 6 September 1971 known as the "Abuso." ("Tupamaro Record No 2. Three Tupamaro Escapes," previously cited, p 59.)
220. The son of "Atilio," also a member of the MLN-T.
221. These four prisoners regained their freedom by court decree. In the previously cited "Uruguay, Friday, 14 April 1972," by Filomena Grieco, a primary schoolteacher, and Carlos Rovira, parents of the seditious activist Horacio Carlos, which was awarded the Casa de las Americas prize in Havana, he is represented as an innocent young idealist living in "a convulsed epoch" under "an unjust system," who fell victim to "assassination by the repressive forces of the Uruguayan regime... In a crime which is still unpunished." The book refers to the first assassination that morning and records the following words which were the sole commentary voiced with relish by this young idealist. Mrs Grieco says: "We heard the report at 1100. They gave the news of the police raid in Rivera y Ponce and one by the navy in Las Piedras. My son said: 'What a week for Latin America!' In a human sense, it is possible to understand the pain at the death of a loved one into which the report goes, and even desperation. What cannot be understood is the justification of the son's misconduct, for which a great part of the responsibility falls to his parents, which the tale stresses mournfully through a report which claims to be objective but only serves the purposes of subversion encouraged from outside, in the service of dark plans for world conquest."

222. Jurisdiction of the military courts instead of the civil courts in crimes of sedition.
223. With this headline, the official organ of the PCU [Communist Party of Uruguay] echoed the statements made the preceding day to the General Assembly by Senator Enrique Erro, on the basis of the seditious reports.
224. The officer in question, who never again regained consciousness because vital parts of the brain were injured, died 2 years later.
225. The informative and combat publication of the FER-68.
226. "Segundo." He was in charge of an action group in the interior column. Following the "Abuso," in which he escaped, he was assigned to column 30-south. In Durazno he supervised an action group, made surveys and built a hideout. Following the meeting of the expanded general command, he was assigned to the command of column 26, etc.
227. "El Toba." In charge of the sale of the books and gold stolen from the Mailhos firm, he kept one ingot, which caused discontent within the organization. He transported the organization's needs in his automobile and acted as a liaison for the holding of the meetings between political leaders and members of the MLN-T. He agreed with the latter on his own "kidnapping," as a way of insuring a parliamentary investigation of the complaints submitted through former Senator Erro with regard to the activities of what was claimed to be a "death squadron." A member of the political faction of former Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, he was reelected in the 1971 elections as a member of the Chamber of Representatives, etc.
228. "Emilio," "Flaco," "El Negro Emilio." A cousin of "Aurelio," the inside man in the attack on the Naval Training Center, it was he who recruited him. He was a member of the command of column 6, and participated in the crime referred to. At the time of his arrest, he was carrying false documents, a Halcon submachinegun, a 45 caliber Colt pistol, two 38 caliber revolvers, a fragmentation grenade, etc.
229. News bulletin of the seditious organization for internal circulation in the interior of the country.
230. "Martin," "Pedro." A reporter for the daily newspaper EL PAIS and a member of the ASU [Uruguayan Trade Union Action], it was through him that the MLN-T recruited the majority of the leaders of that trade union organization. A member of the MLN-T, he was a part of the group in charge of press releases. He participated in the establishment of the 26 March Movement and was a member of the CAI [Committee for International Affairs], in which capacity he served as a courier making trips to Argentina and Chile. (For more

information, see "7 Months of Antisubversive Struggle," previously cited, pp 141 et seq.)

231. "Tino." An employee of the Wood and Related Products Association and the Association of Latin American Businessmen participating in the LAFTA. A member of the MLN-T, he, along with "Silvia," was in charge of providing cover for an organization hideout where leaders' meetings were held. He was a member of an action group, in charge of column 20-north in Tacuarembó, served in various other posts, and came to be a member of the executive group. He escaped on 22 November 1972, etc.
232. "Susana," "Chola," "La Chela." One of the first "long hairs" recruited by the MLN-T, she was among the escapees from the Women's Prison during the "Estrella." After that event, she remained underground for a time in the hideout at the pharmacy located at Maldonado and Ibicuy. Assigned to Paso de los Toros, she was in charge of the coordinating group. The comrade of "Fermin," she remained in his parents' home, where there was a hideout, when he was arrested. From there she went to Durazno, where she was arrested a second time, etc.
233. "Raul." A chemistry student, he belonged to column 10 of the seditious organization and was in charge of providing cover for the premises known as "the complex," in the cellars of which he lived with his wife, Maria Clara Aldrighi Cavani, and he drove one of its trucks. This establishment operated as a chemical laboratory, as a front. Its owner and permanent resident was the previously mentioned Costanzo. This was the site of important meetings of the seditious organization and they regarded this hideout as "impregnable." Also, it functioned as an important base for the supply of war materiel and field equipment for the interior, etc.
234. "Telmo," "Alberto." A native of Bella Union and a friend of Sendic, he was a veteran member of the MLN-T. He came to Montevideo at the time of the first cane cutters' march, obtaining work as a nurse at the military hospital, while his wife worked as a nurse at the clinical hospital. He was a part of an action group in the interior column carrying out intensive activity distributing weapons and sector photographs in the interior, using a Bedford double bottom truck adapted to transport sheep, etc.
235. This hideout was known among the seditious activists as "La Estrella" or "Berreta."
236. This hideout was known among the seditious activists as "El Caraguata."
237. See Vol II, Chapter I, 4, Nos 698 et seq.
238. "Victor." A common criminal and a member of the JPC, he escaped during the "Abuso," joined column 15, and eventually served as a "guard" at the "people's prison," etc.

239. "Simon." A member of the secretariat of the MLN-T and the Committee for Aid to Political Prisoners. He took part in everything pertaining to legal affairs and the organization's prisoners. He was the attorney who defended Almiratti and Sendic, among others. When a warrant for his arrest was issued on 1 June 1972, he attempted to evade it by asking for asylum in the Argentine Embassy, which he left a few days later to surrender to the authorities, etc.
240. "Manolo," "El Gordo Manolo." The brother of "Teo," he provided the cover for a Montevideo MLN-T hideout located half a block from 8 October Avenue on Jaime Cibils Street, in the basement of a military hospital. He had a white Volkswagen truck, with a double cab. At his home, where the first command of column 70 met, there was a secret hideout between two walls. He was the liaison with former deputy Hector Gutierrez Ruiz and Alberto Gutierrez Chirimelo, whom he knew through "Eliseo" or "El Negro," with whom he worked. It was he who recruited Washington Fernandez, making a tour with him through the interior of the country where they succeeded in incorporating in the organization dentist Orlando Valentin Gil Martins, alias "Raul," a member of column 22 in the Rivera zone, and leader of former Senator Amilcar Vasconcellos' political faction in that department, as well as recruiting Torterolo in Treinta y Tres and the lawyer of the rice growers in that zone. He played a role in helping the escapees get away at the time of the "Abuso" and the "Estrella," etc.
241. Member of column 23.
242. "Armando." A member of the MLN-T, he was recruited for the seditious movement by the priest Solon Verissimo Perez del Castillo. He was the strongest political representative of the seditious organization in the zone, where he did work on the level of the FA and the 26 March Movement, etc. Concerning Verissimo, known among the seditious activists as "the curate Verissimo," see "Communism in Uruguay," previously cited, p. 138, etc.
243. Chamber of Representatives, Circular No 193, July 1972, "Situation of Former Representative Ariel Collazo," report of the Ministry of the Interior.
244. "Joaquin."
245. "Marcos."
246. "Manuela," head nurse of the IMPASA.
247. "Sara."
248. "Paco."

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249. "Andrea."
250. "Pedro."
251. "Wilson."
252. "Wortiz."
253. "Ramon."
254. "Francisco."
255. "Juan."
256. "Julian."
257. "Rolando."
258. "Costa."
259. "Ramon."
260. "Maiorano."
261. "Juan Maria."
262. "Francisco."
263. "Joaquin."
264. "Olga."
265. "Luciana."
266. "Ruben."
267. "Antonio."
268. "Ernesto."
269. "Roberto."
270. "Maria."
271. "El Panta." A member of the MLN-T since the early days, he did political work in connection with the rice growers. He installed a market site in the Sarandi de Arapey zone with a view to the Tatu Plan. He purchased a Brazilian VW truck, which was used for some transfers during the attack on the BROU branch in Tacuarembó, etc.

272. "Ansina." A landowner, he was affiliated with the Tacuarembó meat plant in the Punte de Carrasco zone and the slaughter house and cold storage enterprise in the department of the same name. Affiliated with the nationalists politically, he provided the MLN-T with information and money. He maintained friendly relations with the officials at the Cuban Embassy in Montevideo, with whom he sought to formalize negotiations for the export of meat to that country. When they were expelled after relations were broken off, he received correspondence from Cuba through Rodney Arismendi. His name and address in Tacuarembó appeared in Che Guevara's notebook, a fact of which he spoke with pride to other seditious activists, etc.
273. "Pancho."
274. "Saracho."
275. "Ines."
276. "Pombo."
277. "Hector."
278. "Agustin."
279. "Cristina."
280. "Anibal."
281. "Bolita."
282. "Aramis."
283. "Aparcio," "Joaquin." He remained hidden in the home of seditious activist Maria Magdalena Brugnini Garcia de Sobral, alias "Victoria," until he could leave secretly for Chile, from which country he traveled to Argentina, for the holding of an MLN-T Congress, representing a faction of the movement in Chile, etc.
284. "Cancer," "Zorro." A teacher by profession and former PS member, he worked in the service sector of column 22, Rivera zone, where he made contacts with clandestine elements and took charge of recruiting on the student level, etc.
285. "Paula," or "Carla," referred to in an earlier chapter.
286. "Atilio." He provided the cover at the apartment on 21 September St opposite the Rodo Park where "Nepo" lived, and where the executive board and the command of column 15 met. At the end of 1971, he was a member of the group which provided the supply needs of column 23 in the interior, in which connection he made various trips to

Paysandu taking and bringing back goods. The father of "Marcos," he headed Zelmar Michelini's List 99, also being a candidate for deputy for that department in the 1971 elections, etc.

287. Previously under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior through the General Penal Institutions Office, plans for this prison establishment were drafted in 1934 but never implemented. The problems created by the sentencing of seditious activists to ordinary prisons, to which reference is made elsewhere, made it necessary to complete the work rapidly and to concentrate the arrested seditious activists there, under the direct control of the military authorities.
288. "Mariana." She was a member of the so-called "Mexican" action group participating in the kidnappings of Pereira Reverbel and Berro Oribe and the effort to kidnap Deambrosis. After her escape, she joined the military sector of the column in Montevideo.
289. "Irma," "Raquel." She operated in column 22, Tacuarembó Zone, reserve sector.
290. The date of the escape from the Punta Carretas Prison the preceding year called the "Abuso" by the seditious activists.
291. "Eduardo," a member of an CAT for that column.
292. "Tronco," a member of the Workers Committee of Section 12 of the FIDEL.
293. "Chano."
294. "Augusto."
295. Irina."
296. "Joaquin."
297. "Leonardo."
298. "Willy."
299. "Olga."
300. "Santiago."
301. "Lola."
302. "Micaela."
303. "Santiago."
304. "Gabriel."

305. "Mercedes."
306. "Joaquin."
307. It was noted that "in recent hours a report has also circulated concerning a book said to have been written by Hector Amodio Perez, supposedly including an indictment of the MLN and compromising various organizations and political personalities. According to other rumors, the book would make reference to interviews unreported previously, and some recent arrests would be linked with it."
308. This referred to a book presumably written by "an arrested activist accused of conspiracy and activities threatening state security, for the rights to which he would seek a very large sum in dollars. According to the story circulating in parliamentary circles, Hector Amodio Perez is supposed to have outlined his activities in the MLN, giving a political judgment of that organization and practically a whole history of it. According to this version, also carried by the weekly MARCHA on this date, the work mentions political groups and personalities involved and refers to supposedly secret interviews," etc.
309. The text of the speech delivered by Jorge Batlle Ibanez on 26 October.
310. This was in reference to the political decision of the List 15 sector headed by Batlle Ibanez to withdraw from the government, with which it had been collaborating up to that point, leading to the resignation of the ministers of that sector in the cabinet, and provoking a political crisis.
311. See Vol II, Chapter I, 6, "Political Reaction Against the Armed Forces," No 709 et seq.
312. "Claudia" or "Rita." An MLN-T member of Brazilian nationality, she was the daughter of the Brazilian Paulo Romeu Schilling Schirmer, who sought asylum.
313. Vol II, referred to above, Chapter I, 5, Nos 704 et seq.
314. Ibid, Chapter I, 6, No 710.
315. See Vol II, Chapter VII, Nos 802 et seq.
316. Ibid, Chapter II, No 718.
317. Ibid, Chapter II, No 719.
318. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 720 and 721.
319. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 722 et seq.

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320. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 745 et seq.
321. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 722 et seq.
322. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 725 and 726.
323. Ibid, Chapters II and III, Nos 727 and 728 and 815 et seq.
324. Ibid, Chapters II and VII, 3, b, Nos 729, 730 and 833 et seq.
325. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 733 and 734.
326. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 736 et seq.
327. Ibid, same chapter and section.
328. Ibid, Chapter II, No 748.
329. Decree No 163/973, Ibid, Chapter II, No 749.
330. "Pedro" or "Rodolfo." He operated in the workers sector, command group, column 70 of the MLN-T.
331. Killed in a confrontation.
332. Deceased.
333. Vol II, Chapter III, Nos 753 et seq.
334. Ibid, Chapter III, Nos 755 et seq.
335. Ibid, Chapter II, Nos 745 et seq.
336. Ibid, Chapter III, Nos 758 et seq.
337. Ibid.
338. Ibid.
339. MARCHA, 30 March 1973.
340. Vol II, Chapter IV, Nos 772 et seq.
341. Decree No 239/973. See Vol II, Chapter II, No 751.
342. Ibid, No 747.
343. The file contains the testimony of the following seditious activists:
Hector Amodio Perez, Alicia Renee Rey Morales, Jose Alberto Mujica
Cordano, Adolfo Wasen Alaniz, Jose Ruben Bottaro, Marcos Rosencoff

Silberman, Mario Arquimedes Piriz Bude, Juan Jose Mena Nunez, Fernando Munoz Alvarez, and Agapito Felipe Cantera Silvera.

344. See Vol II, Chapter III, No 763 et seq.
345. Later police investigation made it possible to establish that the robbery in question was committed by criminals Artigas Rodriguez Aguilar and Jose Carlos Cirilo, unaffiliated with the seditious organization.
346. Ibid, Chapter III, Nos 769 et seq.
347. The public tension created by the parliamentary handling of this matter, the developments in which the population followed minute by minute thanks to excessive publicity, is an undeniable reality. The message from the executive branch of the preceding day did not set forth any extravagant exaggeration. The people, who had stoically endured the excesses of the seditious organization for years, were waiting and anxiously hoping not for an interminable juridical-political controversy, but the immediate reestablishment of the calm essential to profitable activity. The redeeming antisubversive campaign by the FFCC in 1972 had made it possible to perceive with blinding clarity the danger and the depth of the subversive gangrene, which had infiltrated the political bodies themselves and which these bodies had largely attempted to minimize and even ignore. The superficiality of the parliamentary proceedings in the consideration of this matter, which at this point was no novelty to anyone and entailed establishing responsibility of one of the members of that legislative body itself, but with regard to which the population expected a rapid decision, was not to decrease but rather added to the existing tension. The unexpected and, for the vast majority of the public, unintelligible change in procedure which, according to its authors, would lead to the same end, was not the best means of alleviating this tension. Rather it appeared to be a mere dilatory artifice, or a deception of the public expectations, entirely alien to the serious approach expected of the political bodies, and characteristic of the atmosphere of frivolity which for so long a time had characterized its operations. Thus the atmosphere which would push events to their climax the following months continued to develop.
348. In this work, which was intended as a judgment of the government but which in reality reflected the fortunes of its author and the destructive journalistic action carried out by his daily newspapers, among many other things, Fasano referred to the book by Hector Amodio Perez and said: "I have written the book "Amodio Perez -- Hero or Traitor?"... The time of its publication will depend on the service it can render to the movement dedicated to a profound change in Uruguayan structures... The new book "Amodio Perez -- Hero or Traitor?," if one day it is published, will make possible an understanding of the force of a revolutionary passion and the dangers of a despotic illusion." (p 770).

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349. This article reported on a press conference held in Buenos Aires, in a premise of the Peronist movement, by Mario Eduardo Firmenich (Montonero) and Roberto Quieto (of the FAR), speaking on behalf of those organizations and setting forth the role they played in the Argentine situation with a view to the achievement of the goals of the revolution, etc.
350. See Vol II, Chapter IV.
351. Ibid. See also "Toward a National Political Doctrine," Office of the President of the Republic, Montevideo, 1974.
352. See above, Chapter V, No 176.
353. Vol II, Chapter VII, No 805.
354. Ibid, Chapter IV, Nos 779 et seq.
355. This gave the text of the joint statement issued by the FA and the National Party (Senator W. Ferreira Aldunate's majority sector) "in broad and fervent solidarity with and support of the popular battle in defense of the interests of the country," etc.
356. The seditious organization said here that "the fascist military dictatorship has stripped off its mask, crushing the last vestiges of freedom remaining in the country"; "the basic enemies of the people are the oligarchy with their armed forces and the Yankee imperialists"; "we suffered a temporary defeat beginning on 14 April 1972 which was due mainly to our shortcomings and betrayals"; "the people have set forth a harsh challenge: either pursuit of the path of revolutionary weapons in order to build and defend the fatherland of Artigas against the exploiters, or allowing ourselves to become a great estate in the service of the "Brazilian strongmen"; "the goal has always been and is the same and we reassert it today: it is not to improve the system, but to destroy it, to forge and build a new society headed by the workers," etc.
357. The FA said in this manifesto that "the oligarchy has chosen the path of dictatorship" and the armed forces "are serving as the armed branch of economic and/or political groups"; that it was no accident that the coup "occurred almost simultaneously with the frustrated coup in Chile; both the blows dealt are part of the reaction of imperialism against the rise of national and popular movements in Latin America." "The outlawing of the CNT is yet another proof of the clearly anti-popular nature of the regime." "The FA calls upon all truly popular political forces to unite in confronting the dictatorship," and, as a solution, it urged "the holding of the freest and most authentic popular consultation," etc.

358. The list of those for whom warrants were issued was as follows:
 Jose Artigas D'Elia, Felix Diaz Clavijo, Gerardo Cuesta Vila, Carlos Gomez Perotti, Carlos Alfredo Bouzas, Wladimir Turlansky, Helvecio Bonelli Arias, Ramon Freire Pizzano, Enrique Juan Pastorino, Alcides Lanza Perdomo, Elbio Timoteo Quinteros, Rogelio Zorron Nieve, Romulo Oraison Cano, Ruben Villaverde, Esteban Fernandez, Jose Gutierrez, Honorio Lindner, Idilio Pereira, Servando Aldrovandi, Carlos Jesus Espinosa, Alberto L. Fernandez, Rita Cassia Sena, Roberto Olmos Barone, Alfredo Melhem Kalon, Hector Bentancurt Arriola, Rosario Pietraroia Zapala, Didaske Perez Bachino, Adolfo Drescher Caldas, Sixto Barrios Gastelu, Victor Antonio Brindisi Massello, Ramon Roberto Diaz Retamar, Francisco Orsali Franca Rocha, Jonas Steneri Pioli, Milton Montemar Doyenard, Julio Garcia Dotta, Luis Maria Rocha, Luis Alberto Iguiny Ferreira, Luis Alberto Nadales Devita, Aparicio Guzman Etchepare, Enrique Teofilo Pineyro Garcia, Carlos Francisco Duran Rodriguez, Ricardo Vilaro Sanguinetti, Juan Antonio Iglesias Villar, Pedro Juliano Abuchalja Seade, Juan Olivera Larrosa, Daniel B. Baldassari Barboza, Roberto C. Rodriguez Alvarez, Raul Betarte Martinez, Juan Francisco Ordoque Villano, Alberto N. Fernandez Lorenzo, Carlos Carrion Llovet and Domingo Rey Scoane.
359. RESPUESTA, No 17, Montevideo.
360. Military Imprisonment Establishment.
361. "Alcira," or "Alejandra." She worked in column 10, subcolumn A, Ramiro GAF, and in the technical group of the "Collar" Plan. She was a sister of Arapey Cabrera Sureda, alias "Arapo," "Gabriel" or "Senaque," a member of column 7, zone 1, group 3, and in charge of "Senaque" premises where the technical group operated. He escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison during the "Abuso" and is currently in Argentina. Another brother was Yanduy Miguel Cabrera Sureda, alias "Jose," referred to above, etc.
362. "Lucio."
363. See reference above, 25 April 1972.
364. See Vol II, Chapter VII, Nos 806 and 807.
365. Ibid, Nos 810 et seq.
366. Text of the statement issued by the two seditious organizations on the 3d of the month in Buenos Aires.
367. The statements of the arrested men made it possible to identify and apprehend the others involved in these events.
368. Vol II, Chapter VII, Nos 810 et seq.

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369. "Gervasio."
370. "Betí."
371. See Vol II, Chapter V, Nos 785 et seq.
372. This was a pamphlet published secretly.
373. "Polo,"
374. "Pepe."
375. "Daniel."
376. "Daniel."
377. "Brasilero," "Chato."
378. See Vol II, Chapter VI.

XV. Future

FUTURE

640. With the MLN-T crushed in a military sense, its cadres decimated, the vast majority of the members, collaborators, accomplices and cover personnel arrested, those who had headed the seditious organization and who succeeded in fleeing to neighboring countries turned their eyes toward the leaders in prison, in search of inspiration as to what to do.

Thus repeated attempts occurred to exchange letters, in which the considerations had to do with the lines of a possible reorganization.

641. One of the most enlightening documents in this connection was the letter seized at the Punta Carretas Prison on 12 April 1973, sent by seditious activists who were still outside the prison to those imprisoned there: "The madness has passed," they said, "and everything is beginning to settle down... And now our hands are much freer to begin to build the organization. It is no longer a question of refloating the shipwrecked vessel, but of having a good vessel for going to sea... Elimination of a large part of the 'fat,' selection of the infrastructure, etc. It was indispensable to sit down and think, to analyze the earlier errors, to see the causes, to outline a strategy and determine tactics consistent with the new situation (ours, that of the country, the process, Latin America). It was essential to transform this defeat into a strategic victory." "It was necessary to go much farther back than 14 April... To think in order to learn from our errors. To destroy the patterns in order to begin to build a new organization."

642. The document then goes into the consideration of the following points: "Analysis of the earlier period," "ideological questions," "analysis of the national situation," study of the "strategic line" and the "tactical line," the "policy of alliances," "toward the formation of the party," "training of cadres" and "our prisoners."

"You are the most important part of us," it added, "both from the quantitative and the qualitative points of view. It is a fact that we do not have the best cadres of the organization outside today, and we will have to study how to insure that the contribution of the comrades in prison can be a constant factor."

The letter complains here of a failing which dated way back: "The shortcomings in cadre training. In Almeria¹ there remains an organization now more or less beheaded, comrades who unexpectedly had to assume responsibilities which are very great for them... lack of training in the comrades, poor recruiting criteria, liberalism in the military as well as the political aspects, shortsightedness, overestimation of the organization, underestimation of the enemy, lack of roots in the people, verticalism, bureaucracy, disdain for the political work, excessive emphasis on rank in the apparatus, loss of methods and

norms of organizational functioning, moral problems among us, individualism. Many of these things lead to what we call "subjectivism in command," which is in essence acting as if the reality were what we desire and what it is not." "When Almeria fell the movement was beheaded." ...The old ideological system is lost... "We are beginning to travel a path which will lead to transformation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology into that suited to a petit bourgeois mentality." The crisis which affected and is affecting the country "continues to be our best ally"; the government "has suffered the greatest discredit which could befall any government." "Trying to carry forward a powerful constructive current, making it possible to incorporate vast sectors of the people, is a primordial task." The trade union movement -- the product of years of work by the PC and other leftist lines -- had crystallized in "an apparatus (almost total and bolshevized) which does not provide the trade unions with an administration for struggle and consciousness raising in the respective bases" and which is headed "by leaders who in general bureaucratic." "This is due to a lack of political consistency for which we cannot deny responsibility." In the student movement, "the situation is better, there is a better base, and in general the comrades are much better organized... But here, too, we lack a proper policy," etc.

643. In another document seized under similar circumstances as that just summarized, the "basis for discussion about the present situation of the armed forces and the tasks" are outlined, certain facts are analyzed and reference is made to "the offensive policy against the armed forces²: Francese would in this connection be a new battlehorse for the oligarchy." "There is obvious deterioration in the traditional parties as the political and organizational expression of the dominant class, incapable of providing an answer on any level to the basic crisis through which the regime is passing." The balance of forces with the enemy favors us, both on the political and the military level. Regarding the armed forces, we should not attack them directly today, because of a tactical consideration... Our immediate and principal task is to consolidate in the political sector all those sectors of the left imbued with our line, giving them a better organizational expression. To do this it becomes essential to develop an active ideological struggle, enlightening our membership, the membership of the front³ in general, and the proletarian sectors basically... Throughout the development of this stage it will require perhaps greater sacrifices than the preceding one, and for this reason we must proletarianize ourselves, introduce ourselves and assume the guiding ideas of the revolutionary, Marxism-Leninism, and adopting in practice the viewpoints of the working class, knowing their problems, living with them and trying to integrate them and to integrate ourselves systematically. We must work with a long term mentality, patiently anticipating a war which will be long... Only thus will we win the place which we seek as revolutionaries in the future."

644. The statements made by various seditious activists concerning the same era also make it possible to reconstruct the way in which the movement views its own future: "In the course of its history, the MLN was dealt many blows of varying seriousness. Without a doubt that in 1972 was the harshest, but

it was dealt to a large organization, although internally much deteriorated, which enjoyed considerable support from the population and positive expectations from large sectors. It is not possible therefore to conclude that the MLN had been definitively liquidated." "It is logical to suppose that the current MLN is working on its organization, equipment and preparation to act on the national political scene..." "The current situation of the MLN, its problems included, may be more or less as follows:

1. An organization not large in numbers, agile, compartmented, made up of clandestine members without documentation or legal ones with little experience, extremely radical;
2. A dozen members with military experience, operating secretly awaiting the development of a potential for action, created by outside situations or the MLN itself;
3. In the realm of services, it needs no more than what is essential for survival: technical services, some security, and medical;
4. Premises -- an organization with the characteristics described needs few premises;
5. Weapons -- if external support continues, it should have them in sufficient quantities;
6. Its recruiting potential has diminished, but it has members in legal mass organizations (student movement, some trade unions, 26 March, UP, MUN, etc.) and it maintains relations with the leaders of others;
7. The loss the MLN suffered in its leadership, from which it has without a doubt been unable to recover. The 1972 coup, on this level, was total, and with the arrest of all the members of the leadership and the intermediary cadres, an absolute interruption in its continuity occurred. How does this current MLN plan to overcome this serious problem? The most logical thing is to turn its gaze toward the arrested leaders. This has been the solution found under other similar circumstances."

645. It will also have to be borne in mind "what the armed Argentine organizations are doing in view of the electoral triumph of the Peronists. If their actions fail, one can presume the desirability of halting the action of the MLN until it can count on the support of the armed Peronist organizations, with which relations are being maintained and some of the leaders of which have belonged to the MLN (Joe Baxter, ERP [Revolutionary People's Army]; Jorge Andres Cataldo, FAP [Peronist Armed Forces]). Another aspect to be considered in connection with the Argentine situation is the possibility that the new government will adopt an attitude toward the MLN similar to that of the Chilean Government. The closeness which would aid the movement; the establishment of a Cuban mission in Buenos Aires; relations between MLN-T leaders and those of the armed organizations, the relations

between Uruguayan political leaders affiliated with the MLN with the Peronist political and trade union organizations, relations on the intellectual level in both countries -- these are elements which would facilitate the reestablishment of an operational center in Uruguay, and which in the eyes of the imprisoned leaders would justify this period of waiting."

"Focusing solely on the international situation of the MLN and the national situation, they should agree (the imprisoned leaders referred to, that is, Sendic and Fernandez Huidobro, "who never cease to see each other and function as leaders of the MLN, whether at liberty or in prison; on all occasions they continue to correspondence and to draft their plans and propose solutions even when they were not asked to do so by the leadership") on the desirability of going direct to the public, in the short run, to demand armed struggle, but considering the expectations created by the armed forces, they should plan for a period in which to see how this works out. In the event of a decision to act, they should agree on a small plan of action including activity of a propaganda nature (kidnapping, flight, seizure of some military post, if possible) and then actions against officers in indiscriminate fashion." "It will be these or other hypotheses the imprisoned members of the leadership will consider, but what is beyond doubt is that their view, like that of some who are presumed to be abroad (for example, Mansilla,⁴ Cultelli,⁵ and Martinez Platero⁶) has weight in the current policy of the MLN," etc.

646. Finally, the activities in Argentina of the seditious activists who took refuge there and the political leaders who fled when the parliament was dissolved in the middle of 1973⁷; the holding of secret meetings and assemblies in the capital of that country, with Erro, Michelini and other members of the PCU, the 26 March Movement, the ROE, the CNT, etc, participating; the tacit agreement to use the PDC [Christian Democratic Party] as the front for the entire left; the agreement of the MLN-T with the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], the ELN [National Liberating Army] and the ERP, publicized in the "joint declaration" by these seditious groups in March of 1974, previously referred to in another chapter; the emergency of new subversive propaganda organs such as EL TUPAMARO -- the heir to CORREO TUPAMARO, RIGOLUCION, printed secretly in Buenos Aires, are all signs indicative of the agreements on the preceding considerations and the presence of subversive movements, seeking zealously to reorganize itself and reestablish its scattered ranks.

647. The propaganda sheets referred to insist on the determined "revolutionary" attitudes which this volume documents in ample fashion.

"The lack," it says there, "of a real vanguard, solidly rooted in the working class, capable of guiding and assuming the whole of the task of the people, organizing the popular war, is today the essential and priority problem to be resolved. Without this organization the revolution will not be possible in our fatherland. The vast task of undertaking its construction patiently begins with the basic presupposition of a socialist society and the determining role which the workers class must play in its construction." "Therefore this periodical becomes an organizer of the struggle of the



Demonstration by Argentine subversive groups in the heart of Buenos Aires

working class and the people, because the existence of a combative and very disciplined secret organization is required. It will be a tool of the workers and the people, because it will reflect their specific problems and their struggles for their basic interests. It will be one of the most effective levers for establishing the political and organic links with the masses, contributing basically to the construction of the vanguard organization: the Revolutionary Party which will direct the revolutionary war of the entire people, promoting the construction of the people's army."⁸

And in this tone, there follows an unending series of judgements, assertions, conclusions and threats of the rankest Marxist Leninist literary flavor, harping to the point of exhaustion on the apocalyptic litany: the same words, the same phrases, the same mental set as always.

648. Crushed by the gears of an international and denationalized "revolution" based on Marxist blackmail, lies, hatred and terror, having learned nothing from the sordid experience through which they have passed except the professional techniques of the school of crime they embraced, the current representatives of the MLN-T in exile are seeking from other lands to reorganize the seditious movement with prospects of a sad future, since this is nothing more than a new version of the recent path of depredation and crime.

Documents seized during 1975 confirm the predictable intent of the seditious movement to reactivate itself, counting on the support of similar organizations abroad and international communism.

The documents in question provide directives for agitators in the following sectors:

Deception of workers and students in order to use them in the same way as before, as tools for subverting and sabotaging the country;

Creation of artificial difficulties in the economic and social sectors, to provoke public discontent and deflect attention from the efforts and projects the country is promoting for recovery;

Acceleration, under the guise of serving the country, of infiltration on all levels of activity, especially in factories and labor sites, for the purpose of creating differences and grudges and winning supporters to be used first as collaborators and then as activists;

Reorganization of the seditious cadres based in the labor sites, and procedures pertaining to recruiting, liaison and other operational methods typical of the seditious organizations, etc.

Attempts have been made to put into practice these and other similar directives on various occasions. However, the vigilant attention of the authorities, clearly aware of the ideology and affiliations of the seditious groups there with foreign influences, their tactics and methods of operation; the enlightening experience gained in the antisubversive struggle during the most critical periods; and the growing awareness of the people concerning the true goals of these groups made it possible through repeated efforts to bring the reactivation of the seditious movement and the reorganization of its forces to a halt. Thus, for example, in 55 operations and two confrontations which occurred in May of 1975, the FFCC destroyed the seditious leadership which had again begun to reestablish itself in Montevideo, with various members coming in secretly from abroad, with the capture of more than 20 conspirators and the seizure of weapons, pistols, machineguns and grenades, substantial sums of money, plans for kidnappings to obtain ransom, materials for the falsification of documents, etc. The known objective was to create a base which serving as a bridgehead, would make possible the reintroduction of the seditious activists who took refuge in Argentina, in order to begin terrorist activities on a large scale again.

Among those arrested on this occasion were some known figures, such as Walter Gonzalez Diaz,⁹ Pedro Ricardo Lerena Martinez,¹⁰ Raul Rodriguez Da Silva,¹¹ and other less important individuals.¹²

In any case, these frustrated attempts show the stubbornness of the seditious organization, nurtured and encouraged from abroad, where the seed was sown, and they confirmed the seriousness of the factors of judgment set forth in this volume and accuracy of its statements and predictions.

The MLN-T leadership established abroad -- or what remains of it -- recently confirmed its failures publicly, attempting as always to provide an "explanation."

Set forth in the most orthodox terms of Marxist-Leninist ideology, it says that the reverses were the result of "internal contradictions" in the organization, aggravated with the need to deal with complex problems and brought to the crisis point with the blows of 1972: "The recruiting of cadres within the petit bourgeoisie" -- lacking proletarian awareness -- and the "lack of a Marxist-Leninist theory."

For this reason, too, the 26 March Independents Movement, the specific political group of the MLN-T within the Uruguayan leftist coalition, or FA, failed, "because 26 March also was of petit bourgeois and not proletarian extraction." According to this explanation, the armed forces offensive was thus able to injure the MLN-T because of the "lack of a Marxist-Leninist party and a theory of revolutionary warfare."

The later restructuring of the movement did not work out for similar reasons: "In 1973 the reorganization of the MLN-T began, but the methods used proved wrong... They were consistent with a petit bourgeois style of work. The main leaders remained in exile instead of being on the front of struggle. The organization of the MLN continued to be petit bourgeois... The convention was not convoked and the leadership met very rarely. There were no controls, and the clique mentality became evident in the leadership, which was divorced from the masses and the bases. An enormous heritage was wasted and the money frittered away. What was done had no relation with what was said... In 1974 the directives announced important organizational successes. But far from coming closer to the workers and adopting their style of life, the new leadership established costly infrastructures, and required the leaders to live apart. Some operated in Montevideo while pretending to be administratives of Argentine capital, living in palatial fashion, with all of the distortions this leaves with it." "After a crushing defeat at the hands of the armed forces, the petit bourgeois leadership was forced to undertake self-criticism and to accept responsibility for all of the errors committed and for the revolutionary reversal," etc.¹³

Despite these misfortunes, the seditious organization, a typical Marxist-Leninist product, did not become discouraged but continued its "work," responding to the directives from a joint international command, the previously mentioned JCR [Revolutionary Coordination Council]. It is to be expected, then, that new efforts, followed by new failures, will be made in the future, with the authorities remaining on guard, as they are, so long as the seditious movements continue to enjoy the foreign support supplied them by international communism.

649. To the extent that, through the ordered and creative effort of its entire people, the country succeeds in recovering from the disturbances and chaos in which the seditious organization sought to plunge it and would

like to again, the future of that seditious organization will inevitably dwindle away, leaving behind it only the memory of a nightmare of horror and barbarism.

650. Backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment are not overcome via the misguided path of violence and crime. The achievement of economic and social progress will only be possible through honest and constructive labor, harmony, love of the fatherland, faith in the moral values of the human being, confidence in the prosperous destiny for the country and its people, through the fulfillment of duty and the advancement of education and culture, the only valid forms of long term investment, in an atmosphere of freedom and security.

To this task, in which all Uruguayan men and women of good will have a role to play, the armed forces are committed, having triumphed over the seditious organization and clearing the fatherland's horizons of its bloody threat.

FOOTNOTES

1. 7 August 1970.
2. See Vol II, Chapter II, February.
3. A reference to the supporters of the FA, which the MLN-T supported and which it deeply infiltrated.
4. Lucas Victor Mansilla Calleros, known in the clandestine organization as "El Negro" or "Eliseo." A member of the executive group of the MLN-T, he was responsible, during his stay in the Punta Carretas Prison, for becoming familiar with the guards and corrupting officials. He escaped during the "Abuso," and it was also he who took charge of the recruiting of such people as "El Toba," Gutierrez Ruiz, etc.
5. Andres Felix Cultelli Chiribao. A former PS counselor, he was a member and founder of the MLN-T, and served in the command of column 1 as the military officer. He later left for Chile, etc.
6. Eduardo Martinez Platero, "El Panta." A member of the MLN-T since the early days, he did political work in connection with the rice growers. He established a market place in the Sarandi de Arapey zone with a view to the "Tatu" Plan. With organization funds, he bought a Brazilian Volkswagen truck, which was used for transportation during the attack on the Tacuarembó branch of the BROU, etc.
7. See Vol II, Chapter IV, June.
8. EL TUPAMARO, organ of the MLN-T, year 1, No 1, December 1973, "Purposes," pp 3, 4.

9. "Cholo." He escaped from the Punta Carretas Prison during the "Abuso," went to Argentina, from there to Chile and finally to Cuba, where he took a course in weaponry.
10. "Pepe," or "Caudillo." A member of the MLN-T since 1965, he specialized in the falsification of documents.
11. "Juan." He joined the seditious organization in 1970, and was arrested in 1972, serving a sentence until April of 1973. He was released on parole, which he violated in July of that year, fleeing to Argentina and Chile.
12. Anibal Lopez Rey, alias "Alberto"; Victor Tortora, alias "Marcelo"; Osvaldo Duran Scaglia; Humberto de los Santos, alias "Chato"; Luis Alberto Ponce de Leon; Raul Melogno Lugo (killed in a confrontation); Maria Reina Pena, alias "Lucia"; Brenda R. Pena, alias "Laura"; Berta A. Etcheverria Aguiar; Maria Luisa Karaian (deceased); Walter Olmedo; Maximo Noble, alias "El Negro Luis"; Jacqueline Rius de Barreiro, alias "Maria Luisa"; Ruben Benitez; Gladys Norman Reyes, alias "Maga"; Celso Wilson Fernandez Hernandez, alias "Julian" or "Valentin" (deceased); Maria B. Bequio de Rubio, alias "La Parda"; Eloisa Lugo de Melogno; Nelson Sanchez Tarela, alias "Eustaquio"; and Jorge Dabo Revello, alias "Lancer."
13. "The MLN-T -- Uruguay, Assessment and Prospects," REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATION COUNCIL REVIEW (ELN, ERP, MIR, MLN), Lisbon, April-May 1975.

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